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6 October 1983

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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LEBANESE WEEKLY DISCUSSES ARMENIAN CAUSE, NATIONAL DEMANDS

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 13 Aug 83 pp 4,6

[Excerpts] [Editor's note] The 8 August 1983 issue of the Lebanese weekly, AL AFKAR, carries an extensive article on the present phase of the Armenian armed struggle. The weekly does not justify terrorism, but it approaches the Armenian question impartially and considers legitimate the demands of the Armenian people which were shamefully forced into oblivion by great power diplomacy.

We present the said article below. We have omitted sections of the article dealing with historical information with which our readers are familiar.

Armenian hopes to set up an independent state completely faded away during the Lausanne Congress. Today, 60 years after that congress, the Europeans are once again facing the same question: What do the Armenians want?

The European, immersed in his own problems (everything from unemployment and inflation to Euromissiles and Corsican terrorism), resents the fact that France, Belgium and Portugal have been turned into a battleground between Armenian revolutionary organizations and Turkish institutions. However, he has also begun seeking the reasons which drove five Armenian young men to undertake a suicide operation in the Turkish embassy in Lisbon in order to draw attention to the Armenian question.

LE PELERIN, a French publication which is quite removed from leftist and revolutionary dispositions, says in its editorial: "Before the Armenians, the Palestinians managed to present their case at the United Nations by employing terrorism. Is it not possible that we, as government and public opinion, are also responsible for what is happening today?"

There are numerous oppressed nations in Europe, Americas, Asia and Africa, but they are all forgotten and abandoned to their fates. It is almost as if the international congresses which determine boundaries dividing nations and states are unchangeable divine acts. The Armenian nation was also a victim of international diplomacy, and Armenia as an independent state disappeared in 1924 (1921--editor). Today, 70 years after the genocide, a group of young Armenians want to revive the Armenian question and to force Turkey to recognize the calamitous genocide of 1915 which the Armenian people were subjected to.

However, while the goal of the Orly, Lisbon and Tehran operations was to attack Turkish and French institutions and to bring the Armenian question into sharper focus, they also put Armenians living in Turkey, France, the United States, Europe and Lebanon in a difficult spot. The French-Armenian community sharply criticized the Orly operation which claimed numerous victims of various nationalities. Here it is worth mentioning that some of the participants in the 2d Armenian Congress in Lausanne refused to condemn terrorist operations directed against Turkey and Turkish diplomats and institutions.

It is hard to reconcile the dual allegiances of the Armenians. The French-Armenian is Armenian by ethnic origin but has become a Frenchman and enjoys all the rights and privileges of French citizenship. That is why the French-Armenians found themselves in a difficult situation following the Orly incident. Though filled with hatred against Turkey, the French-Armenian was pained by the loss of innocent lives and rejected any moves that could cast doubt over his French citizenship.

During our meetings with Armenian political and cultural figures in Lebanon, everyone preferred to remain silent about the details of current terrorist acts. These individuals want to keep the memory of the Armenian genocide alive, but deplore the blind terrorism that has claimed so many innocent lives in Europe. They know that terrorism is the most efficient means to bring the Armenian question to international forums, but they reject terrorism on humanitarian grounds.

Armenian revolutionaries are fighting for the establishment of an Armenian state which would be sprawled over parts of Turkey, the Soviet Union and Iran. Since Turkey is considered the perpetrator of the massacres that took place in 1915, Armenian revolutionaries also demand that the world and, in particular, Turkey recognize its responsibility for that genocide.

The Turkish government, however, does not contemplate such a move. It refuses to admit the crimes committed by the Young Turks 70 years ago. It is obvious that such an admission would lead to demands for reparations, the return of the occupied lands and other claims. That is why Turkey considers the experience of the Armenians a result of World War I and blames the large number of Armenian deaths on famine, which claimed hundreds of thousands of victims--among them Turks, Arabs as well as Armenians--in the Middle East during the war.

However, historical facts say otherwise, according to impartial historians. According to neutral and, in particular, German observers, there was a definite plan to exterminate the Armenian people.

The deportation of the Armenians began in June 1915. The Armenians were forced to leave their homes and farms and were driven into the Syrian desert. The Turkish government took no steps whatsoever to provide them with food and shelter. Large numbers of Armenians died of hunger and exposure. They were subjected to the most inhuman acts imaginable.

To see more clearly the terrible agony the Armenians went through, it is essential to examine reports written by German observers, having in mind that Turkey and Germany were allies in World War I. Dr Lepsius, a German physician,

notes in one of his reports that of the 18,000 deportees who left Sivas and Kharpert only 350 arrived in Aleppo and that of the 19,000 deportees who left Erzurum only 11 survived. According to Dr Lepsius, two-thirds of the Armenians who were deported died on the way and most of the surviving one-third--who gathered in desert townships--died of diseases.

On 10 June 1915, the German consul in Musul said in his report to his government: "The 614 Armenians sent from Diyarbakir over the Euphrates river have all been massacred--men, women and children--and thrown into the river. The boat carrying them arrived empty." The most manifest evidence confirming the Young Turks' goals is the telegram sent by Talat Pasha to the police chief of Aleppo on 15 September 1915. Talat, who was the minister of the interior at the time, said:

"You are already aware that the government has decided to exterminate all Armenians living in Turkey on the instructions of the Committee (that is the Central Committee of the Young Turks). Those who do not obey these orders cannot be considered loyal to the government. No matter how painful the needed measures are, it is necessary to silence the voices of conscience and to be rid of all human feelings in order to put an end to the existence of this nation, including women, children and the disabled.

[Signed] Minister of the Interior"

Today, the Armenians confirm that 1915 and 1916 were the peak of the Armenian massacres. The massacres had started in 1894, and the number of those killed by the end of 1916 exceeded 1.2 million.

What was the attitude of the Arab nation in those days of crisis?

It is sufficient to talk about the letter sent by King Hussayn, the leader of the Arab revolution and the Sharif of Mecca, to the Arab princes. In his letter, the king asked the princes to provide shelter and care to the Armenian refugees.

To this day, Armenians talk with gratitude about the stance of the Arab population. An Armenian writer says: "We are obliged to be grateful to the Arab people in general and the Syrian people in particular for the magnanimity and care they showed during the difficult days of the Armenian nation. The Armenian people will never forget that. The Arabs took Armenian orphans into their own homes until the dark clouds faded away. The Arabs did all this urged purely by compassion even though they could be prosecuted by the Turkish government for what they were doing. But the superior morals of the Arab people dispelled such considerations, and they opened their arms to us."

The reaction of the American, European and Russian governments remained confined to impassioned statements and empty promises. These governments promised independence to the Armenians. Encouraged by that promise many Armenians joined the allied armies and 200,000 of them lost their lives in battle. But when the war was over the promises faded away and the seizure of Armenian lands was legitimized on the conference tables of the great powers.

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKISH JOURNALIST DISCUSSES ARMENIAN TERRORISM, EXPRESSES FEAR

Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 1 Sep 83 pp 1,4

[Text] BRAVO, one of Turkey's largest monthlies, in addition to covering current events often interviews leading Turkish figures on important issues which concern the country.

In its most recent issue, BRAVO carries an interesting interview with Mehmet Ali Birand, MILLIYET's European political affairs expert and correspondent, under the headline "Turkey Needs to Pursue a Multifarious and Balanced Policy."

During the long and interesting interview, Birand was also asked questions about Armenian issues. Birand answered these questions as follows:

BRAVO: You referred to Armenians a while ago. Have these Armenian problems ever made you think about your personal safety? Do you not fear any of these acts?

Birand: Frankly, I am scared. I began fearing them only recently. I was not scared until now. Until now, I used to think like all the other Turks living overseas: "What are the chances that something like that will happen to me?" But now that Turkish diplomats are generally better protected, the targets and persons attacked by the Armenians have begun to change. Today, Armenian attacks are directed against everybody and any Turk, in addition to the valuable Turkish personnel abroad, attempts against whose lives causes a lot of noise.

BRAVO: You mean that their attacks are now directed against the Turkish community overseas.

Birand: That is where it is going to slowly. It is a fact that this situation affects everyone. Here, in Turkey, MILLIYET published "Talat Pasha's Memoirs." In Belgium, I received four or five phone calls in this connection and the callers told me that they would exterminate us and that they would do other things.

In Turkey, people are not aware of this situation because the likelihood of such an event here is very little.

BRAVO: The likelihood of being a terrorist target overseas is naturally much higher than in Turkey.

Birand: Yes. The likelihood has started to grow. Fear has started to creep into everyone's heart.

BRAVO: Articles published in certain Turkish papers have demanded that the Turkish government adopt a more "active" attitude against the Armenians and learn from the example of retaliation used by Britain and Israel in similar situations. Articles and commentaries were published along these lines. What is your opinion on this issue?

Birand: That is exactly what the Armenians want. They would like to see the Turks having armed teams and causing incidents, such as bombing an Armenian institution in Paris. Yes. That is what the Armenians want. That is, they want to make Turkey run out of patience and to make it kill innocent Armenians in Turkey and abroad. That is the greatest possible danger. Because then they will be able to turn to the world and say: "You see, they are barbarians. They committed a genocide and see how they are doing it again."

On this issue, Turkey does not have too many options. The Armenian problem will remain and the Armenian crimes will continue.

Turkey can only consider a few simple measures. Firstly, the Turkish government must protect its citizens. Secondly, foreign governments must be made to understand that these incidents are only common criminal acts. It must be explained to them that the monster that is being created can one day hurt them. Other than these, we can do nothing except mourn our martyrs. Everyone must understand this situation very clearly.

BRAVO: How would Europe react to acts of retaliation by Turkey against the Armenians? How would such a development affect the course of events?

Birand: As I said a while ago, they will say, "the barbarian Turks once again started killing the Armenians." Because the ground has already been prepared for this and that is what is wanted. I understand that there is the need for a burst of anger by the Turkish nation and that the need is felt for retaliation, but it would be very wrong to permit the creation of such a situation. We must not forget that if such units are formed to go and kill people, later, when the incidents are over, it will not be clear who these units can attack. That is a very dangerous path to take.

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CSO: 4605/132

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKISH PAPER CRITICIZES FRANCE FOR PRO-ARMENIAN ATTITUDES

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 27 Aug 83 p 1

[Text] As reported in previous issues, the French Foreign Ministry has once again failed to show an impartial stance in connection with the terrorist attack on the French consulate in Berlin. Even the Germans have been perturbed by the French Foreign Ministry statement which said that the perpetrators of the Berlin incident are "casting a shadow on their cause." France has thus once again stood in support of an Armenian cause, drawing criticism from diplomatic circles.

It is clear that the French government is still afraid to openly condemn Armenian terrorism which has resulted in the death of innocent people. France maintains this attitude because it is afraid that its Armenian citizens may be angered.

The Germans are furious that the French are spoiling the Armenian terrorists while they make every effort to find the perpetrators of the terrorist attack. The Germans are diligently continuing their investigations and have put up a reward of 100,000 deutschemarks for those who help the police to find those responsible for the incident.

Although it was alleged yesterday that the explosion was realized using gas pipes, it is now reported that a bomb weighing 5 kilograms was used. The bomb was placed in the building by a person wearing worker's overalls.

Although the German press has sharply condemned the incident, the television station ZDF broadcast a program the same day justifying the Armenians. The program linked the Berlin incident with the events of 1915 and showed photographs the contents of which were not very clear.

In a commentary on the same subject today, HURRIYET sharply criticizes the French government for calling the goals pursued by ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] "the legitimate cause of the Armenians." The daily recalls that France has always supported the Armenians and that as long as it was Turkish blood that was being shed it even tried to have a resolution passed at the UN on the alleged Armenian genocide. But as soon as French lives began to be lost, the paper continues, France began to raise a clamor. HURRIYET says: "Today, France once again calls a 'legitimate and glorious cause' a cause in whose name numerous innocent people have lost their lives." HURRIYET then asks the French government: "Who believes your words now?"

The paper finally adds:

"It is true that there is contamination in the atmosphere. That is because French blood has been shed, and everyone knows that that blood contaminates the place it is shed."

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CSO: 4605/129

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

DISSENSION WITHIN ASALA REPORTED

Attack on French Consulate

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 27 Aug 83 p 1

[Text] The terrorist attack on the French consulate in West Berlin continues to grieve the world public, which has once again been angered by ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia]. It is reported that [FRG] authorities questioned eight Armenians who live in Berlin in connection with the incident. The Reuters news agency reported that the bomb attack in Berlin has deepened existing divisions among ASALA factions.

Security officials disclosed that the Armenians questioned are not under detention and that the police are examining the large volume of documents seized after the incident.

As is known, the explosion occurred in one of Berlin's most densely inhabited quarters and one person was killed and 23 were hurt as a result of the explosion. Immediately after the incident an unidentified person claimed responsibility for the explosion on behalf of ASALA.

Five of those wounded as a result of the explosion--four of them women--are still under treatment in the hospital, while 14 others who were sent to the hospital have been discharged after being treated.

In addition to 50 local policemen terrorism experts from the federal government are also working on the incident round the clock to gather evidence, but so far no clues have been about the identity of the perpetrators of the incident.

In a statement yesterday, the French Foreign Ministry said that it appears from the form of the incident that the aim of the terrorists was to hurt a large number of victims. The statement further said that the organization responsible for this incident is hurting the cause it is pursuing. The statement added: "The organization casts a shadow on the cause which it says it is defending."

The FRG Minister of the Interior, Zimmermann, also sharply condemned the terrorist attack in Berlin.

In a report based on Armenian sources in France, the Reuters news agency charged that the Berlin incident has deepened existing divisions in ASALA's ranks. As

is known, a new ASALA faction named Revolutionary Movement said in a statement a few days ago that it no longer endorses ASALA's ideas and mode of operation.

In a statement issued in several countries, the organization named Revolutionary Movement condemned the Berlin explosion and stated that the said incident was a blind act of terrorism, adding that innocent people have lost their lives senselessly as a result of supposedly anti-imperialist acts in Europe recently. The said organization also described as a "fascist act" the attack on passengers at Orly airport.

'Dissent Verified'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 31 Aug 83 p 1

[Text] While repercussions continue around the world of the terrorist attack on the French Center in West Berlin, which resulted in the death of one person and the wounding of 23, the German press has sharply criticized the French government. The daily DIE WELT wrote that France has become a center for terrorist movements since Mitterrand came to power.

Meanwhile, ASALA's secessionist faction known as "ASALA-Revolutionary Movement" has issued a statement calling ASALA's head, Hagopian, a "despot" and a "criminal." The statement says that innocent people were killed as a result of the Orly incident and that common people have been turned into targets of terrorism. In an article on this issue, the French magazine, LE POINT, emphasizes that the Armenian community of Europe strongly condemns ASALA's activities and says that the severity of divisions [within ASALA] will surface in the coming few days.

While investigations continue in connection with the bomb attack on the French consulate in West Berlin, local police have constructed a picture of the terrorist on the basis of eyewitness reports and are working feverishly to find the culprit.

The Berlin police has prepared a composite picture of the terrorist and has broadcast it over the television and the press. The chief of the German State Security Organization, (Manfred Ganschov), held a press conference on this issue and asked the people to help them. (Ganschov) said that those who help the police in arresting the terrorist will receive an reward of 100,000 deutschemarks and that their names will remain undisclosed.

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CSO: 4605/130

RELIGIOUS SERVICE HELD IN TEHRAN IN MEMORY OF ARA COMMANDOS

Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French No 1178, 6 Sep 83 p 21

[Text] On 27 July of this year an Armenian commando group attacked the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon. The five "Kamikaze" terrorists were found to have been burned to death in the explosion of their own bomb.

Day before yesterday in Tehran the Armenian church paid homage to them. A religious service was held in the courtyard of the Saint Sarkis cathedral in the presence of 5,000 to 7,000 people. After the service a solemn hymn was sung and the bells began to ring in honor of the Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA) commando group. On the white walls of the cathedral could be seen a banner proclaiming in red letters in Armenian "Let us raise the flag of armed struggle." A lay church official explained that the overwhelming majority of Armenians in Iran (around 250,000 people) supported the ARA.

"The church," he said, "supports the ARA which launches attacks solely against the Turks."

Questioned as to the apparent contradiction between the Christian message and armed struggle, the lay official stated, "Is it a crime to fight to recover one's rights? I say no."

Mgr Ardak Manoukian, archbishop of Tehran, stated his own opinion: "This sort of attack draws world attention. Its purpose is to force the world to acknowledge the injustice perpetrated on the Armenians during the massacres of 1915." The spiritual leader of the Armenian church added that the Armenians wanted to prove to the world that they constituted a viable nation and that they should recover their rights. "Justice must be done."

According to Mgr Manoukian, "the Armenians have conducted a peaceful struggle for many long years but the world has paid no attention to them. The five young people killed in Lisbon tried to prove that they were sacrificing themselves in a fight for the rights of a whole nation."

Lastly he added, "Turkey is trying to cover up the truth, but the world is not blind and deaf. History does not lie. People will learn the truth." Several thousand letters addressed to the families of the five Armenians killed in Lisbon were assembled in the cathedral courtyard. One from the family of one of the five commando group members was read to those present: "We are proud of our children who died. I am distressed to have no other children to sacrifice for our cause."

FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES SITUATION IN ARAB WORLD

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 6 Aug 83 pp 3, 14

[Interview with Kamal Hasan 'Ali, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, by Sina' al-Sa'id: "A Dialogue With the Arabs Is Necessary and Would Be Useful"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Lebanon today is urgently calling for a national settlement which would include all factions.

In this interview, Kamal Hasan 'Ali, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, talks about all of the issues which preoccupy the Middle East. He talks about the situation in Lebanon, the Palestine question, and the Middle East crisis. He also talks about the Gulf war between Iraq and Iran. The Middle East still constitutes one of the world's powder kegs. The two superpowers are standing in the background of this struggle which is going on, each of them is brandishing its power, and each of them seeks to gain a position of superiority rather than parity with the other. The clash between the two superpowers is something which quite often results in dire consequences for the Middle East.

In this interview with AKHBAR AL-YAWM, Kamal Hasan 'Ali gives his assessment concerning the Gulf war and the situation in Lebanon after the new U.S. envoy has been sent there. He says that it is necessary for the Lebanese to achieve a national settlement since such a settlement would be the primary foundation for salvaging the deteriorating situation in Lebanon. He also talks about Operation Bright Star-83, which is a series of joint U.S.-Egyptian military maneuvers. Some people consider these maneuvers to be obvious proof of the fact that the United States these days is pursuing a policy of force and brandishing its power.

[Question] The recent Iranian offensive which was mounted against Iraq during the latter part of last month clearly shows that Iran still maintains the reins of initiative in the Gulf war and that Iran has no intention of relaxing the economic and military pressure which it is putting on Iraq. How do you assess the military and political situation with regard to these two nations? What can Egypt do to provide support to Iraq at the present time?

[Answer] We are, in fact, noticing that Iran recently has continued to escalate its military pressure on Iraq. Iran currently is following a policy of attempting to deal limited blows to Iraq at numerous points [along the front]. However, when we examine the military and economic potential and capability of the two parties involved, our consequent assessment is that Iran will not be able to achieve any major success in any of the areas where military operations are being carried out on the front. In fact, one could say that Iran, by attempting to exhaust Iraq, is also exhausting itself. As far as we here in Egypt are concerned, we are closely monitoring the situation and we are also providing aid to Iraq in the form of equipment and ammunition in order to enable Iraq to defend its own territory and consequently also defend the territory and regions of the Gulf.

Initiatives Concerning the Gulf War

[Question] People are saying today that the world is unable to put a stop to the Gulf war. Do you believe that it would be possible to achieve some sudden progress in the near future in this regard if there were a joint U.S.-Soviet initiative?

[Answer] I fully agree with you that the world has been largely powerless in its efforts to bring about an end to the Gulf war. This has happened because, in spite of the numerous efforts at mediation that have been made all during the period of the conflict--particularly during the first year of the conflict, when we saw the mediation of the secretary general of the UN, the group of Islamic nations, and the group of nonaligned nations--it is clear that these mediation efforts did not receive any direct support from Iran or from the two superpowers. And I can assure you that if the two superpowers reached an agreement to end this war, it would actually be possible for them to end it in a very short time. Nevertheless, we unfortunately so far have not seen any proof or indication of any serious intentions or sincere efforts in this direction. On the contrary, the war is continuing and it is exhausting the energy and capacities of two nations which are linked by common spiritual ties and which need every bit of their wealth in order to build up their respective societies.

We are inclined to think at this point that a stop will be put to the military conflict between Iraq and Iran only when the leaders of Iran realize that it is useless to continue the war and that they will not achieve either their military or political objective of defeating Iraq--a nation which must continue to develop its own military capability in order to defend its territory. At the same time, efforts to mediate between Iraq and Iran should be continued in order to achieve stability and peace in the area and in order to not allow outside forces the opportunity to intervene in the affairs of the area.

Keeping Outside Forces Out of the Area

[Question] On another level, a new refrain is being sung by the United States these days. This refrain is the fact that the United States is threatening to use military force. The United States has emphasized its

commitment concerning guaranteeing freedom of navigation in the area and has warned that any attempt to take over the Gulf area will be considered by the United States to be an attack against the interests of the area, and that the United States would then respond by utilizing all the means at its disposal, including force. My question is: What are the dangers of this refrain that is being sung by the United States? Do you believe that this refrain is something which the area is in need of?

[Answer] It is important for us to go back to the beginning of this whole affair in order for us to be able to understand the dimensions of the situation. We must recognize the fact that the Gulf area has oil wealth which is definitely needed by the rest of the world. Furthermore, the Western nations in particular are always prepared to pay the appropriate material price to obtain this oil. We all know the story of how OPEC succeeded in raising oil prices and getting the nations of the world to pay an appropriate price for this commodity. This is one aspect of the matter. Another aspect of the matter is that the United States, in light of the blow which its strategy suffered as a result of the fall of the Shah and then the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, has begun to feel that the Soviet Union is threatening these areas which are of such strategic importance.

It was in this context that former President Carter came up with his strategy of securing the Gulf area against any aggression from outside or against any internal conflicts which could affect the flow of oil to the nations of the world outside the Gulf area. We, for our part, also are aware of the fact that the area faces dangers and threats both from outside and from within. This is why we support the demand that outside forces and the superpowers be kept out of the area and not interfere in its affairs. We say this because we know that if one of the superpowers dives in and interferes in the affairs of the area, this could be followed by an attempt on the part of the other superpower to plunge into the area in order to oppose the former and in order to defend what it regards as its interests there.

Dangers For the Gulf Area

[Question] Egypt has been accused of being pro-United States and of participating along with the United States in the singing of the U.S. refrain in the area since Egypt will be participating with the United States in large-scale military maneuvers which will be held in the area within a few days. What are your comments about this?

[Answer] As I have said before, we regard as a danger to the Gulf area the possibility that some regional or other party in the world might attempt to interfere in the affairs of the oil-producing Arab nations in the area. For this reason, we have committed ourselves to providing some facilities to the United States, in case we see that this is necessary, within the framework of a particular strategic situation and based on a request made by any party which feels threatened and wishes to have the United States help it ward off any direct aggression from outside which might be mounted against such a party.

We are, of course, aware of the fact that these training maneuvers have the objective of measuring the effectiveness of U.S. capabilities. But we should also remember that, when large-scale Egyptian forces participate in these joint training maneuvers, this is something which increases the effectiveness of our armed forces and gives our armed forces the opportunity to benefit from and become acquainted with the most advanced means of combat and to utilize all types of advanced technology. We should also remember the fact that such joint U.S.-Egyptian training maneuvers are not taking place within the framework of an agreement or treaty between the two nations. This is something which would affect the nonaligned position that we fully adhere to in our relations with the two superpowers. In fact, the maneuvers are being conducted on the basis of a request which we made because we wish to increase the effectiveness of the utilization of our troops--and our troops right now are being more and more supplied with U.S. arms and equipment.

Egyptian and Arab Interests

[Question] It is said that the United States is seeking to gain political advantages in the area and that there are certain parties which are helping the United States to achieve this. They say that Egypt is at the top of the list of such parties. What are your comments concerning this?

[Answer] It goes without saying that the United States, like any other power in the international arena, has its own interests and objectives and engages in its own particular actions. The interests of this or that party differ from the interests of other parties according to the degree to which this party is able to affect or influence the international situation in the world arena as a whole. The United States--and this is a reality which we must recognize and which we must live with--has interests which involve every area of the world. The same is true of the Soviet Union which is striving hard to counterbalance the U.S. presence in the international arena as a whole.

We realize that each of the two parties is attempting to achieve political gains in this or that area. However, the important thing is for us to always strive, as clearly as possible and with all of our might, to protect our national interests and the interests of the Arabs. I can assure you that the political leadership of Egypt, when dealing with any situation in the area, always does so from the standpoint of bearing in mind Egyptian and Arab interests.

[Question] U.S. actions in Central America and the Middle East seem to be an indication of the fact that relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have reached such a crisis point that an accord between the superpowers is only a remote possibility. This being the case, do you not fear that a serious clash will occur between them because of the Middle East?

[Answer] When we say that peace is the basic ingredient of our foreign policy--and this, in fact, is one of our strategic options--this is something which reflects the fact that we are aware of the importance of a state of

peace as being that which provides a general climate in which nations can pursue harmonious relations which enable them to be in accord with the other nations of the world. Also, a state of peace is the most favorable circumstance for development, for nations to build themselves up, and for resources and capacities to be channeled toward achieving prosperity for the peoples of the world. Practical evidence of this basic policy has been the fact that we have constantly called for the Middle East to avoid the danger of polarization, the fact that Egypt has pursued a policy of nonalignment, and the fact that Egypt made a basic contribution to the establishment of the group of nonaligned nations.

We are not dreamers or idealists. We realize that we are living in a world in which various interests are in conflict with each other, and where matters sometimes come to the point of a clash. However, we just as firmly believe that, no matter what conflicts exist, the possibility of reaching an understanding and solving disputes is always a possibility which is larger and more important than the possibility of war and destruction.

As for the conflict between the two superpowers, let me say the following: Yes, we do fear a clash between the two superpowers in the Middle East. In view of the fact that fearful weapons of destruction have been developed, such a clash would in fact mean the end of world civilization. If such a clash occurs, there will be no victor and no vanquished. And more importantly, we fear that the policies of the two superpowers will be to remove the specter of war from their own territories and to wage their conflict in the nations of the Third World. This would then be a great calamity. For this reason, the Third World now more than ever demands that it not be the scene of this international polarization. We want the Third World to realize its real interests, to realize where it stands, and to realize how to look after its interests. The nations of the Third World, which have come to have weight and influence in the international arena, must play their role in relation to the two superpowers in order to prevent a return of the climate of the cold war.

The Lebanese Situation Is a Difficult One

[Question] Withdrawal [of foreign forces] from Lebanon is a necessary prelude to achieving the reunification of Lebanon as a first step toward bringing about an overall settlement of the Middle East problem. In your view, who is responsible for the fact that the situation still remains at dead center? Some people are saying that Syria is the reason that the situation has become aggravated. If this is so, do you believe that Egyptian-Syrian contacts can be pursued in order to do something about this situation?

[Answer] The Lebanese situation is one in which there are numerous parties involved which have conflicting objectives. The situation involves internal factions, local regional parties, and international parties. Achieving a balance between all of these parties in order to pursue the common interest of Lebanon is something which is extremely difficult and requires utmost skill. You ask me who is responsible for the fact that the situation is

still at dead center. My opinion is that several parties are responsible for this situation. Israel has been intransigent and has insisted on achieving as much as it can for the sake of its own security, without taking into consideration the security requirements of the other parties. This has led to a reaction on the part of these other parties, and consequently no accord has been reached. In addition to this, the United States has been somewhat overly optimistic in its expectations concerning the possibility of bringing about such an accord. Furthermore, Syria has made the same mistake that Israel has made by taking the position that it is necessary to get either everything or nothing at all. As for the matter of contacts between Egypt and Syria, Egypt believes that a dialogue between fellow-Arabs is always something which is necessary and would be useful.

The United States and Syria

[Question] What can the United States offer to Syria in the near future in order to get Syria to change its position? What type of security guarantees could be provided to Syria--especially after the decision made by Israel to redeploy its forces in Lebanon and after it has been demonstrated that the only options which could convince Syria to change its position would be options furnished by Washington?

[Answer] The United States could offer quite a few things to Syria. For example, the Golan Heights constitute Arab territory which has been occupied since 1967. The United States has adhered to the policy of reaching an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and this, of course, includes the Golan Heights. All of this is expressed by Resolution 242, [which the United States supports]. Furthermore, the United States, as one of the basic parties involved in reaching the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, could arrive at a formula which would address the fears which Syria has concerning its security.

[Question] You are calling for Syria to withdraw from Lebanon. Do you believe that the security situation can be held intact if Syria withdraws from Lebanon? This question is especially apropos in view of the fact that when Syrian forces withdrew from Tripoli before the end of last month, this withdrawal led to the occurrence of skirmishes between the competing militia groups there.

[Answer] It is the business of the Lebanese government to maintain security in Lebanon. Only the Lebanese government is able to judge whether or not it is capable of controlling the situation in Lebanon and maintaining security there. Lebanon has many times declared that it is capable of controlling its situation and maintaining security if all foreign forces withdraw from Lebanon.

In addition to this, the multinational force is playing a role which supports and assists the Lebanese army. It is up to Lebanon to examine its own security requirements and suggest how these requirements might be met.

Another important point should be brought up, and it is the issue of reaching a national accord in Lebanon. It is urgently necessary today for Lebanon to reach such a national accord which would involve all of the religious sects in Lebanon. Such a settlement or accord would be the basic foundation for enabling Lebanon to build a better future for itself and to overcome the tragedies of the past. Whether or not such a settlement is reached will be the decisive criterion as far as Lebanon and its security are concerned.

A Mission Which Is Still in Its Beginning Stages

[Question] Many people doubt that the mission of Robert McFarlane can succeed because they say that U.S. policy is basically a policy which is wrong. They consequently say that sending this U.S. envoy will not offer anything new. They say that this is because the United States insists on its policy which renders the work of all mediators ineffective. What are your comments concerning this?

[Answer] I believe that it is unrealistic to start casting doubts on a mission which is still in its beginning stages. We should not pass a verdict concerning a case that has not been heard. Robert McFarlane's mission is still in its very early stages, and until the mission has been completed, it is difficult for us to say whether or not the mission has been a success. The final evaluation of any mission should not be made until the mission has been completed. It is only then that its results should be evaluated, that it should be analyzed, and a judgment should be made concerning it. There is no doubt that Habib's mission resulted in clarifying the positions taken by all parties involved, and in light of this it is possible to build new policies in order to achieve a solution to the problem.

[Question] After the invasion of Lebanon, two trends emerged in U.S. thinking. There were those who considered the conflict to be a new opportunity for U.S. diplomacy in the area, and there were those who felt that the conflict represented a dangerous burden for U.S. relations with the Arab world. Since events during the last 14 months have shown that U.S. diplomacy has been a failure, what alternative do we now have?

[Answer] I believe that, when the Lebanese crisis is solved, this will definitely show which of the two trends has been the more correct one. The United States has large-scale interests in the area, and the United States cannot easily disregard these interests. Also, since the United States has fully committed itself to achieving peace in the area, this has burdened the United States with obligations which it must honor.

[Question] Some people are searching for new alternatives which would appear to involve a rapprochement between Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan or else would involve a new Arab balance of power. Do you believe that this can be achieved?

[Answer] If, when you speak of "new alternatives," you mean an overall Arab rapprochement in the direction of mutual understanding in order to deal

with the dangers and threats which are confronting the area and if this means uniting the Arab ranks, then this is something which is always necessary and which is always desirable. But if you, when speaking of an "Arab balance of power," have in mind the setting up of Arab alliances, then I must tell you that Egypt is against this policy of alliances. I believe that the present state of schism which exists in the Arab world clearly demonstrates the dangers which the Arabs could be exposed to if the Arabs were preoccupied with setting up such new alliances.

[Question] After it has been demonstrated that steps undertaken by the Israeli government to redeploy its forces is something which, in the long run, will not be of service to anybody--much less Israel--are you optimistic, as the United States is optimistic, that redeployment of the [Israeli] forces represents a first stage along the road of total withdrawal [of all foreign forces] from Lebanon?

[Answer] The United States has stated that it is committed to the achievement of the objectives of U.S. policy in Lebanon. These objectives are the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, supporting the efforts of the central legitimate Lebanese government to gain sovereignty over all Lebanese national territory, and guaranteeing the security, independence, and integrity of Lebanon's territory. Furthermore, after the visit to Washington by Shamir and Arens, American officials at all levels, and also on the highest levels, stated that they had received assurances from Israel that redeployment of the Israeli forces constituted a step along the path of achieving total withdrawal [of all foreign forces] from Lebanon. But we will have to wait and see what happens.

Egypt Supports the Legitimate Aspirations of the Palestinians

[Question] 'Arafat's presence was a guarantee that the PLO would not fall apart and that disputes would not become aggravated. This being true, if 'Arafat is removed, this will encourage the more extremist elements to begin engaging in terrorist actions. What is Egypt's real position with regard to 'Arafat? Could one criticize what Syria and Libya are undertaking in the direction of dethroning 'Arafat? These questions are especially apropos in view of the fact that 'Arafat recently stated that the current month of August will be full of dangers as far as the PLO is concerned.

[Answer] Egypt has frankly stated its position with regard to the crisis which exists in the ranks of the PLO and with regard to the crisis inside the Fath movement--and has done so ever since the beginning of the crisis. Egypt has emphasized the fact that it supports the legitimate leadership of the PLO and has warned of the dangerous consequences which might result from this conflict for the PLO, for its leadership, for its legitimate right to represent the Palestinian people, and for the struggle which the Palestinians are waging on the local, pan-Arab, and international levels.

Egypt opposes any action which would negatively affect the independence of the PLO or Palestinian policy. It is in this framework that one must view

the position taken by Egypt with regard to what is going on in the PLO and with regard to its relations with the various Arab parties.

[Question] The events in Chad have become part of the international conflict which is going on. If Libya escalates its current intervention and tips the scales in favor of Oueddei, will Egypt be able to mount an intervention which will counter this? What type of intervention could Egypt then utilize in order to support the legitimate government of Chad?

[Answer] Egypt is making serious attempts to help contain the conflict and to have the conflict remain an internal one. Egypt supports the legitimate government in Chad and supports the legitimate regime of Hissein Habre. What is going on today in Chad is something which is extremely grave, and it can result in dire consequences for many other African nations which could run the risk of falling into the same type of circumstances which now exist in Chad.

Since the charter of the OAU has prohibited the use of force to solve border problems which exist among neighboring countries in Africa, it is baffling to see Libya, one of Chad's neighbors, intervene in an internal dispute which is going on between various parties in Chad.

Egypt supports the legitimate government in Chad, will support this government with whatever it can offer it, and will help enable it to defend itself and resist foreign intervention.

9468

CSO: 4504/545

BRIEFS

POPULATION INCREASE FIGURES--By 4 August of this year Egypt's population totaled 46 million persons. This estimate was made on the basis of the 1976 public census data dealing with births, deaths, and housing. This announcement was made by Dr Mukhtar (Haludah), head of the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics [CAPMAS]. On 13 October 1982 the population was 45 million. This means that Egypt's population has increased [since then] by 1 million persons in about 10 months. The rate of increase, then, has been 1,254,000 persons per year, 105,000 persons per month, 3,436 persons per day, and 1 person every 25.1 seconds. As of 13 October 1982 this rate of population increase was 1,134,000 persons per year, 94,500 persons per month, 3,107 persons per day, and 1 person every 27.8 seconds. This increase is the net increase--which represents the difference between the number of births and the number of deaths. That is, it does not represent only the number of births. Consequently, it is not true that we have a newborn child every 35.1 seconds. The correct average figure is a newborn child every 25.1 seconds. [Text] [Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 7 Aug 83 pp 1, 10] 9468

CSO: 4504/545

COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH CANADA DISCUSSED

Haifa ISRAEL BUSINESS in English No 385, Aug 83 pp 5, 6

[Text]

The scope of Israel's international R&D cooperation expanded significantly last month, when Industry Minister Gideon Patt signed an agreement to that effect with Canada. Worked out over a period of many months, this pact is now due to be implemented quickly.

During the last decade industrial research and development expanded here at a very rapid rate. Before that critics had asserted that Israel scientists concentrated too much on basic study, at the expense of applied projects; now the picture has changed radically and the country's industrial R&D potential exceeds its ability to utilize research results economically.

This situation has created promising opportunities for cooperation with business firms in other countries, and many joint projects already have been carried out. In most of those instances, an Israel firm provided much of the actual development work, while its foreign partner provided capital and marketing expertise. Several industrial concerns of world renown actually established their own subsidiaries here, in order to benefit from Israel researchers' capabilities.

The most important inter-governmental arrangement in this sphere is the U.S.-Israel

Binational Industrial Research and Development Foundation (BIRD F). Using the proceeds of an endowment provided by the two governments, BIRD F provides grants to finance promising R&D projects carried out jointly by companies from Israel and the U.S.A. More than forty such grants have been allocated during the last few years; nine of the projects have already reached the stage of commercialization.

The new pact with Canada provides funds for the establishment of a joint knowhow exchange company, which will engage in matchmaking. When that firm locates a likely project and two partners, one in Canada and the other in Israel, to carry it out, each of those two firms will be eligible for the usual R&D supports provided by its government. A very similar formula also provides the basis for an agreement with France, already formulated in detail but still awaiting ratification.

International R&D cooperation, and the expansion of industrial research and development in general, are here believed to be the most effective long term assurance of economic progress. This year exports based on Israel R&D are expected to amount to some \$ 1.5 billion, up from less than \$ 200m. a decade ago.

CSO: 4400/509

ART EXPORTS, FILM INDUSTRY BOOMING

Jerusalem THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST in English No 39, Aug 83 p 11

[Article by Jeff Rubin: "Culture as Export"]

[Text] It is a simple story: artists render ideas into art, businessmen turn art into profit – and in the process Israel gains more than \$140 million in foreign exchange. Through cinema, literature, fine and decorative art, Israeli culture has been sent around the globe and has brought home a tidy income for artists and businessmen alike. Jeff Rubin reports.

While Israel's export trade generally has flagged in 1983, Israeli art exports may surpass previous records by the end of this year. Ministry of Industry and Trade officials state that this year's export of paintings and sculpture may exceed last year's by nearly 100%. Similarly, officials in the Israel Film Center estimate that profits from film production in Israel will hit the \$20 million mark, up from last year's \$11 million. Trade in jewelry and decorative art has held its ground in 1983 and will achieve last year's record if not exceed it.

Israel's annual crop of tourists numbers many who are eager to return home with a piece of Israeli art. With works of art exempt from export duties, it is hard to determine exact figures for the trade in Israeli art. Baruch Madmoni of the Ministry of Industry and Trade says that the export of paintings, sculpture, decorative art and jewelry amounted to \$129 million in 1982, but he points out that this does not include the unrecorded purchases of individual tourists.

World-Wide Network

Tourism contributes not only through direct purchases of Israeli art here, but has also produced a world-wide network of collectors of Israeli art.

Israeli artists frequently travel abroad to visit their collectors and customers, and the government encourages the circulation of Israeli art by arranging special exhibits under the auspices of the Foreign Ministry and by granting loans to private galleries to cover travel and operating expenses for exhibitions abroad.

Nili Cohen, Director of the Institute for Translation, the government body

assisting in the export of Hebrew literature, states that over 320 books by Israeli authors were published between 1965 and 1982 in 20 different languages.

Of these, more than 170 were English translations. It is impossible to determine what this literary trade has meant to Israel in purely financial terms. The export of books and related published materials however amounted to \$25 million in 1982 of which only an estimated \$1.5 million was modern literature.

Among the most popular of Israeli authors abroad is Amos Oz with 25 translations of his work in just nine years. By far the most popular Israeli writer internationally is Ephraim Kishon, whose sardonic humor has sold more than 6.5 million volumes around the world.

Looking at Movies

The most visible export of Israeli culture is carried out by the film industry, both by the production of foreign films in Israel and by the export of Israeli produced movies. According to Yoram Golan of the Israel Film Center of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the film industry produced \$11 million in foreign trade in 1982 largely due to the produc-

ART EXPORTS
(\$ millions)

	1981	1982	1983
Paintings, sculptures, repros.	12	13	8.3*
Film Production	7.5	11	20**
Books and published material	20	Figures not available	
Jewelry of gold, silver, and other metal plated items	124	116.5	35.5***

*through May **Israel Film Center estimate ***through April

Source: Ministry of Trade and Industry

tion of foreign feature length films and television documentaries in Israel.

Filmmakers have been drawn to Israel not only by the country's political drama or by the scenic advantages of filming in Israel's diverse landscape, but also by the generous support provided by the Israeli government. Golan explains that for every dollar spent by a filmmaker in Israel, the government will provide a loan of two additional dollars. In addition, Israel enjoys co-production agreements with several countries which entitle film makers to enjoy the status of local producers when filming in each other's country. Golan looks forward to an increase in revenues from foreign film production in Israel in 1983 as a result of new co-production agreements with Australia, Italy, and Canada.

Israel's own native film industry represents "substantial potential", says Golan. He notes that in spite of the fact that Israeli companies are producing 15 feature films each year "they are not given good exposure and exports are low." In an attempt to bolster the image of the Israeli film industry, the Israel Film Center recently opened a screening room in Cannes, the home of the famous Cannes Film Festival. ■

CSO: 4400/1

BEDOUIN CENSUS-TAKING POSES PROBLEMS

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 21 Aug 83 p 3

[Text]

While the data collected from the country's Jewish population is already being analyzed by computers, the census is still going on among the Beduin in the Negev.

Haim Ezer, census-co-ordinator for the southern region, said: "We have had various technical problems over which we really had no control."

For one thing, because many Beduin and Arab candidates for census-takers were teachers or students, they could not attend the planned courses and their instruction began only at the end of June. Then, the forms in Arabic were also not completed on time. And maps of the Beduin encampments were also delayed. The census-taking began two weeks later among the Beduin than among the Jews.

This delay caused a chain reaction of further difficulties. Ramadan fell in July, cutting short the hours of census-taking. Then came the four-day Id-al-Adha and, again, no

work.

A major problem was the fact that the Beduin are spread out over nearly two million dunams.

There are now four official Beduin towns — Rahat, Tel Sheva, Kuseifa and Arouar — as well as a large concentration in Lagia. Here, the census-taking was almost as simple as it was in the rest of the country.

"Sometimes, our maps show that a certain tribe is situated near a spring, but by the time we get there, the source has dried and the people have gone to another one five or six kilometres away. The census-taker must go out in a jeep or pickup truck to find them. Since they are often nowhere near a main road, this entails a lot of serious hiking," Ezer said. "When such a vehicle tries to get over a difficult area, it sometimes gets stuck. Then, instead of getting to the people, they come to the census-taker and help him out..."

Ezer agreed that many Beduin did not cooperate with the census, although he said that now all the snags have been ironed out.

The two main reasons for Beduin opposition to the census were secrecy and land rights.

They feared that the pledge of secrecy was not iron-clad and that the data would leak from the Bureau of Statistics to the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

The second reason for initial non-cooperation was the worry that the data would be used to speed up their urbanization. "They feared that, in part, the census would speed up the evacuation of Tel Mahata and coerce them to move to permanent towns. Those who own land were particularly opposed to the census," said Ezer.

But once he met the sheikhs to talk over the matter, the opposition subsided and the census will soon be complete.

CSO: 4400/511

EMERGENCY MEDICAL SERVICE FACES FINANCIAL CRISIS

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 19 Aug 83 pp 1, 3

[Text]

Magen David Adom is teetering on the edge of financial collapse. Without an immediate infusion of cash, the emergency medical organization will not be able to meet its August payroll, due on September 1. *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

One leading cause of MDA's current difficulties is the alleged failure of the organization's major source of foreign contributions, the American Red Magen David (ARMED), to release the \$300,000 it promised earlier in the year to help cover MDA's operating expenses, it was learned.

The ARMED also allegedly exerted pressure on the British Friends of MDA to withhold its promised \$100,000 contribution for operating expenses, according to some sources. (The South African Friends, on the other hand, forwarded its \$100,000 share when it learned of MDA's financial plight, *The Post* was told.)

The alleged withholding of the \$400,000, together with a severe and chronic cash-flow problem and a large outstanding debt owed by the government to MDA for services rendered, has brought the MDA to the verge of bankruptcy, it was learned.

But Benjamin Saxe, executive vice-president of the American Red Magen David, yesterday dismissed these claims as "an effort to throw the blame for MDA's fiscal irresponsibility onto the shoulders of the Americans."

In a telephone interview from New York, Saxe told *The Post*: "We

are certainly not reneging on our promise to help with operating expenses. At a conference in London in January, ARMED undertook to provide \$2 million for the purchase of equipment and material, and \$300,000 for operations during the 1983-84 fiscal year.

"But no schedule was ever set for the transfer of this money. Let MDA have no doubt — we will transfer the \$300,000, as promised, by March 31, 1984, the end of the current fiscal year. But we simply don't have the cash on hand to do it right now."

As for the alleged pressure on the British Friends to withhold funding, Saxe said: "That's a lie. The British group cannot withhold money it never promised to give. At the London conference, a dispute arose over MDA's insistence that the British had pledged \$100,000 for operating expenses. But a review of the minutes of this meeting showed that no such promise had been made."

Saxe stressed that ARMED "fully supports" the MDA and said that the U.S. group was "very eager" to settle this problem. To that end, the ARMED this week invited the MDA leadership and Health Minister Eliezer Shostak to come to the U.S. to discuss the matter.

Saxe said that the ARMED had paid out almost \$1.1m. between April 1, 1983 and July 1, 1983 to fill orders for items requisitioned by the MDA leadership in Israel. With a further \$600,000 worth of outstanding orders on hand, the American group cannot release the cash at this time, Saxe said.

Nor is covering operating expenses within the brief of the ARMD, said Saxe. "Our purpose is to buy equipment, to build or upgrade facilities and to improve training for personnel. Our share of the operating budget is only a drop in the bucket — we certainly can't be blamed for MDA's current mess," he said.

In response to questions, MDA spokesman Moshe Dayan yesterday said that the organization's financial situation has been "deteriorating from month to month and now we've reached the end of the line."

While confirming that the withheld funds had left "a big gap" in MDA's operating budget, Dayan also emphasized that all other contributions from abroad, both for equipment and for specific projects, had been arriving on time and as promised.

"The money for ambulances, resuscitation units and other special equipment and specific projects has been coming in fine. It's the money to pay the bills for salaries, petrol, vehicle insurance and so on that we haven't received," he said.

In addition to the "trouble likely to be generated by failure to pay our 800 workers on the eve of the High Holy Days," Dayan noted that the MDA has fallen so far behind in its payments to several of its suppliers that they have already cut off, or are threatening to cut off, continued service.

Earlier this month, Travenol, the firm which manufactures the special plastic bags in which blood is collected, told MDA that it could not go on supplying the bags until at least part of MDA's IS7m. bill had been paid. MDA has not paid the Ashdod-based company for almost six months, it was learned.

After MDA ran out of blood-bags, the Health Ministry supplied the organization with bags taken from the ministry's emergency storerooms, according to informed sources. This "stop-gap measure" necessarily involved only a small number of bags and certainly does not represent a solution to the problem, the sources pointed out.

In response to questions, spokesman Dayan said that 36 per cent of MDA's 1983-84 annual budget of IS1b. comes from the Health Ministry and 15 per cent is from local and foreign contributions. The remainder is generated

through payments for services rendered, mainly through the sale of blood products to hospitals and through transporting patients in non-emergency cases (between hospitals or from hospital to home.)

Noting that the figures may change, Dayan estimated that MDA's debts currently total IS60m., while it is owed some IS74-80m. for services it has already supplied.

These outstanding debts include almost IS10m. owed by the government for services MDA supplied during the Lebanon War. While admitting that the bill was presented to the government late because of "difficulties" in tabulating costs, several months have passed since then with no results, he said.

Approximately IS30m. are owed for services of the MDA's mobile intensive care units, which are called to deal with cardiac emergencies. Payment for such services is received by MDA two to three months after the service is rendered, as is also the case for blood products supplied to hospitals.

"This is the root of our severe cash-flow shortage: our bills for services are rendered immediately, but payment from the government takes from 60 to 90 days and payment from private bodies can take up to six months," Dayan said.

"Moreover, we can't just cut off service, as other suppliers are able to do. Our functions are vital to the health and the very life of the public and must be kept up on a 24-hour-a-day, 365-day-a-year basis, no matter what our financial problems are," he said.

To avert the labour unrest that is almost sure to follow any delay in the payment of salaries on September 1, MDA management has started holding a series of meetings with staff committees throughout the country to explain the situation. MDA director-general Amitzur Kfir also sent a letter to each worker at the beginning of the week, appealing for cooperation.

But letters and meetings are not likely to stave off industrial action for too long, observers said yesterday. If a solution is not found, the country will be faced with a cutoff in such essential services as ambulance, blood transfusions and other blood products, and emergency night-and-holiday first-aid care.

BRIEFS

BRAZIL-KIBBUTZ AGRICULTURAL DEAL—Tel Aviv--An agreement was initialled here yesterday between a group of Brazilian investors and Kibbutz Bror Hayil, in the Negev, under which the latter will set up a vegetable dehydration plant in Brazil as well as a "group of agricultural estates." The project will cost about \$25 million, most of this sum going on setting up, equipping and running in the plant. The kibbutz is the home of Deco, a vegetable dehydration company, which sells its products both in Israel and abroad. Deco itself set up some years ago Deco Yeda, in order to sell the know-how it has accumulated during its years of dehydrating vegetables. The final dehydrated product is generally used by large kitchens in hotels and other places where mass meals are prepared, because it is considerably cheaper than any other type of vegetable. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 1 Sep 83 p 6]

RECORD WHEAT HARVEST—Jerusalem--A record wheat crop has been harvested by Israel farmers, after a winter of ample rainfall. The total yield is estimated at some 360,000 tons, about 40% of annual consumption. Two thirds of that total is from Negev fields, where drought is a frequent occurrence. In years with less favorable weather, national crop totals may be less than half of the quantity harvested this year. Wheat for human consumption is sold by farmers to the Ministry of Industry and Trade, which also imports the large quantities needed to supplement domestic production. In view of this year's record harvest, urgent efforts had to be made to find sufficient storage space. In addition to permanent elevators, temporary means of storage are being used, including special plastic "tents". This year farmers are being paid the equivalent of \$216 per ton of wheat delivered to government storage depots. This is somewhat higher than world marketprices, but matches those of imports, including all related costs, such as transportation and insurance. [Text] [Haifa ISRAEL BUSINESS in English No 385, Aug 83 p 8]

BROMINE SALES—Sodom--The foreign sales of the Dead Sea Bromine Company and its subsidiaries rose to 2 67m. in 1982/83, 12% more than a year earlier. Dead Sea Bromine is a wholly owned subsidiary of Israel Chemicals, Ltd. The company operates a string of subsidiaries, in Israel and abroad. In this country, Bromine Compounds, Ltd. turns out a long list of bromine-base materials for industry and agriculture, including plant protection chemicals and fire retardants. In other countries, the firm's subsidiaries handle the international distribution of those Israel products. Next to potash, bromine is the most important chemical product so far extracted from the Dead Sea. Exports from this country now account for about one sixth of world consumption of this commodity. [Text] [Haifa ISRAEL BUSINESS in English No 385, Aug 83 p 7]

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

RADIO COMMENTARY CRITICIZES SYRIAN SIEGE

JN262159 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1544 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] For whose interest? This is a question we have raised for the thousandth time, and will continue to raise for a million times more. For whose interest are the events now taking place in Al-Biqa' and Al-Hirmil? For whose interest and in whose service are the Fatah forces being besieged in Al-Biqa' and threatened by the barrels of tank guns? For whose interests are the Fatah forces asked to evacuate their combat positions in Al-Biqa' and later to evacuate their new positions in Al-Hirmil? For whose interest does the Syrian command try to disarm more than 1,000 Palestinian fighters of the Fatah forces? For whose sake are the fighters' weapons being seized, particularly since these weapons have been brandished for 18 years to defend the Arabs' land, integrity and honor?

For whose interest are the fighters being removed from the combat lines with the Zionist enemy, whose forces are still occupying Al-Biqa' and other areas in Lebanon? For whose interests are the roads blocked for the Palestinian fighters while they fight the enemy and support their comrades operating behind the enemy's lines? For whose interest are those who claim to be patriotic, progressive, and unionist, trying to split the united Palestinian ranks, fragment their power, and paralyze their militant effectiveness?

We have the right to ask in a loud voice: Where would these old and new Syrian trends which are taking place in Al-Biqa' and Al-Hirmil against the Fatah forces, the backbone of the Palestinian revolution lead to? Do these trends serve our Arab nation's patriotic and national causes as the media of the Syrians and their followers like to claim and boast? Do these trends serve the Arab nation's central cause of Palestine?

Things have become quite clear now. These claims cannot fool even the youngest Palestinian infant. It is clear that the conspiratorial equations are now being implemented either separately or collectively. Reagan calls for the liquidation of the PLO. The Zionist enemy leaders make threats. The PLO receives one threat after another from this or that side which is hostile to our people, revolution, and cause, and the implementing tools continue their siege and threats. Does this need any further clarification?

CSO: 4400/2

DAILY URGES U.S. TO REMAIN NEUTRAL IN LEBANON

JN221023 Damascus SANA in Arabic 0750 GMT 22 Sep 83

[Text] Damascus, 22 Sep (SANA)--TISHRIN says that the presence of the U.S. forces in Lebanon is only justifiable from the U.S. viewpoint and that the Marine forces are being exposed to fire not only because they are stationed within the lines of fire, but also because they are effectively participating in Amin al-Jumayyil's war against the Lebanese people. Whoever participates in the war should only blame himself if his fingers get burned.

The paper adds in its leading comment today: The U.S. statements and reports themselves confirm the Marines' participation in the Beirut regime's war against the Lebanese nationalist forces. This participation has taken a serious dimension, represented by the exposed interference in Lebanon's internal affairs, interference which is as serious as the Israeli invasion.

TISHRIN notes that the Reagan administration's adoption of Amin al-Jumayyil's war against the Lebanese people to achieve U.S. objectives means, above anything else, the removal of the false legitimacy which Al-Jumayyil has granted to the presence of U.S. forces in Lebanon and the conversion of these forces into occupation forces, threatening Lebanon's Arabism and future as well as the security of the neighboring countries, especially Syria.

The paper concludes: Perhaps President Reagan is aware of the pitfalls of his interference in the internal affairs of a country that is thousands of miles away from U.S. borders. Perhaps he is also aware of the Lebanese pitfall and will try to withdraw his forces from Lebanon and maintain a neutral stand before it is too late.

CSO: 4400/2

KABUL CLAIMS FREEING IRRIGATION DAM FROM GUERRILLA CONTROL

Rangoon THE WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY in English 21 Aug 83 p 6

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, 19 Aug— Afghan authorities have said they have freed an irrigation dam from guerrilla control in an operation southeast of the capital, Kabul.

The state-run Kabul Radio reported Wednesday night that six rebel ammunition depots were blown up and large quantities of weapons of American, British, Chinese, Egyptian and Italian manufacture were seized in Khak-e-Jabbar Subdistrict of Kabul Province.

"As a result, the Amir Ghazi Dam, which irrigates 5,000 acres of land and which had stopped working, was back in operation," the radio, monitored here, said quoting the official Baktar news agency.

It gave no dates of what it called a joint operation of police, Armed Forces, intelligence service and members of youth organizations and

defenders of the revolution to clear the area of "imperialist mercenaries", a reference to the guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed Government of President Babrak Karmal.

Arms seized included anti-aircraft missiles, artillery, mortars, rifles, grenades, mines and about 500,000 rounds of ammunition, the radio said.

Six gas masks as well as documents were also found, the radio said.

It reported that President Karmal Wednesday chaired the first Politburo meeting of the ruling People's Democratic Party after his return on Monday from a month's holiday in the Soviet Union.

Karmal had stayed on in the Soviet Union on his way home from an official visit to Mongolia.

The radio said the Politburo approved a report by Karmal on his trip to Mongolia.

NAB/Reuters

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

INSURGENTS KILL 38--Islamabad, Pakistan (AP)--Islamic insurgents killed 38 people in two Afghan cities and inflicted heavy casualties in several other clashes last week, Western diplomats said here Tuesday. In a separate incident, insurgents ambushed a meeting between Afghan elders and Soviet advisers trying to effect a cease-fire so crops could be harvested, killing all the Afghan officials, whose exact number is unknown, and capturing the Soviet advisers, the diplomats said. The insurgents killed 24 Afghan troops in Kandahar in southeastern Kandahar province (state) Aug. 25 when soldiers came into the city to conscript citizens. The recruiters were hit by Mujahideen firing AK-47 rifles, and 24 were killed on the spot. [Text] [Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 1 Sep 83 p 3]

INTELLIGENCE SERVICE OFFICE ATTACKED--Islamabad, Aug. 19 (UPI)--Afghan guerillas attacked an office of the Afghan Intelligence Service (KHAD), killing three Soviet military advisors and four Afghan intelligence officers, the agency Afghan press said. Rebel commander Saeed Janan led the attack on a meeting of Soviet advisers, Afghan party leaders, and intelligence officers at an undisclosed location in the Dand area of southeast Kandahar province on Aug. 7, the agency said. The guerrillas hurled rockets and hand grenades at the office, killing three Soviet advisors and four Khad officers, the report said. The remaining officers fled. The rebels also destroyed a nearby tank and seized five Kalashnikov rifles, an automatic gun, and a Magarov pistol. [Text] [Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 20 Aug 83 p 3]

INSURGENTS REPORTEDLY EXECUTE 16 PEOPLE--New Delhi, Aug. 24 (UPI)--Afghan rebels masquerading as soldiers set up a roadblock, demanded to see official papers, and then executed 16 people found to belong to the ruling party, a Western diplomat said Tuesday. The rebels stopped vehicles on the pretext of looking for conscripts, but then weeded out people with ties to the ruling Marxist party, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the diplomat said. They ordered 16 with party ties into a waiting truck and later executed them, according to diplomat, who asked not to be identified because it limits his embassy's ability to gather intelligence. Rebels wearing army uniforms and equipped with an army truck set up the roadblock in early August at Mahalajan, near the city of Kandahar, 330 miles (530 kms) southwest of the Afghan capital, Kabul, he said. The diplomat said the incident was an example of bold guerilla activity in the city, including a rocket attack on government offices and daylight attacks on military posts and an oil storage depot, during the last six weeks. In apparent retaliation for the attacks, which marked a recent

deterioration of Afghan government and Soviet control of the city, the Soviets have bombed south and west Kandahar daily since Aug. 17, he said. These areas are so thoroughly under rebel control that Soviet and government forces only enter in daylight in heavily guarded patrols, while elsewhere in the city, they generally travel in armored vehicles, he said. [Text] [Manilla BULLETIN TODAY in English 25 Aug 83 p 2]

THREE HUNDRED REPORTED KILLED IN HERAT--New Delhi, India (AP)--Nearly 300 people, including 50 to 100 Soviet soldiers, were reported killed in a major battle between government forces and moslem insurgents at Herat, Afghanistan's third largest city, western diplomats reported Tuesday. Diplomats said the Aug. 10 battle began when Soviet soldiers surrounded a suburban neighborhood to conduct a house-to-house search. Insurgents poured into the area from surrounding villages in western Afghanistan, and encircled the Soviets, according to diplomatic accounts here and in Islamabad, Pakistan. In retaliation for the attack, Soviet forces bombed Afghan villages suspected of harboring Islamic rebels, the diplomats said, quoting sources in Afghanistan. Diplomatic analysts said estimates of Soviet casualties varied widely, but added that the "most credible" reports put the number at "between 50 and 100." Sources here and in Islamabad said the Herat battle was followed a week later by a clash between the Parchan and Khalque factions of Afghanistan's ruling Marxist party, which is backed by the Soviet Union. More than 100 Afghans were killed in the battle, which involved both police and military units, the reports said. The two party factions have been waging a struggle for power ever since the 1978 Marxist takeover in Afghanistan. For security reasons, diplomatic sources cannot be identified by name or nationality under rules governing news briefings by diplomatic analysts with sources in Afghanistan. [Text] [Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 8 Sep 83 p 2]

GOVERNMENT TROOPS SMASH 'REBEL GROUP'--Moscow, 25 Aug--Government troops in Afghanistan have smashed a rebel group operating in Herat Province in a continuing offensive against guerillas in the country, the official Soviet news agency TASS reported Wednesday. In a dispatch from Kabul, the agency said a "significant number" of rebels had been captured or killed in the region and in the provincial town of Herat, Western Afghanistan. TASS said: "The operation to liquidate bands (of rebels) still continues in other Afghan provinces." It said rebels had also been routed in Balkh Province, near the Soviet border. NAB/Reuter. [Text] Rangoon THE WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY in English 26 Aug 83 p 5]

ONE-HUNDRED SOVIET TROOPS REPORTEDLY KILLED--Islamabad, Sept. 7--At least 100 Soviet troops were killed eraly last month when resistance forces surrounded the Western Afghan town of Herat in a drive to forcibly enlist civilians, a Western diplomat said here today. A Soviet detachment apparently surrounded a rebel-controlled district in Herat and when the rebels opened fire, reinforcements came from other resistance units in neighboring villages alerted by the sound of gunfire. The Russians reportedly lost between 50 and 100 men. Unconfirmed reports said 100 men were killed or injured on August 17 in a clash 10 kms. from Herat between policemen and soldiers belonging to the rival

"Khalq" and "Parcham" factions of the Afghan Communist Party. Western diplomats based in Kabul said 10 members of Afghan secret service men were killed and seven injured in an explosion on August 23 in a restaurant in the city center. Skirmishes have become almost daily events in the outlying districts of Kabul and Soviet and East European advisors are rarely seen without their pistols or machine guns, diplomats said. A club which they frequent recently put up a notice asking them to hand in their weapons in the cloakroom. The sources added that nine government agents were gunned down on a road 150 km (90 miles) south of the capital by a ploy used more and more often by the rebels. (Reuter) [Text] [Manila PHILLIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 8 Sep 83 p 8]

9201

CSO: 4600/899

U.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL REPORTEDLY UNDERMINING RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

Karachi JANG in Urdu 6 Aug 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Pakistani-U.S. Relations--Something That Needs To Be Studied"]

[Text] According to reports, the U.S. secretary of Defense, Mr Weinberger, will arrive in Pakistan at the end of next month for a 2-day visit. An official announcement to this effect will be made in a few days. The close relations between Pakistan and the United States are an historical fact; and after having passed through various changes, these relations are again enjoying a period of cordiality. During his visit, Mr Weinberger will discuss with Pakistani authorities topics of mutual interest to both countries, especially the situation in Afghanistan and the recent search for a political solution. They will also discuss the question of strengthening Pakistan's defensive capability. In this connection, the rate of progress being made on the agreement for \$2.3 billion in economic and military aid will also be studied. In view of the current trend in U.S.-Pakistani relations, visits of prominent members of the U.S. administration to Pakistan are natural and understandable. Only 4 or 5 weeks ago, the U.S. secretary of state visited Pakistan and a delegation of prominent members of Congress will be arriving soon.

What emerges from these visits of prominent personalities and delegations is the fact that the United States is deeply interested in Pakistan's progress and security and wants to maintain close relations with this country's leadership. This is a welcome state of affairs and the people of Pakistan express their satisfaction with it. Unfortunately, a news item also appeared in today's newspapers that will naturally create anxiety among the people of Pakistan. The report stated that Israel has asked for the latest generation of C130 planes from the United States. The special structure of this plane enables it to fly long distances on a limited amount of fuel. Informed observers take the view that Israel's efforts to obtain this plane are part and parcel of its plan to attack Pakistan's atomic installations. Israel's evil intentions toward Pakistan's atomic installations are no secret. Responsible persons such as the president of Pakistan have confirmed that sufficient evidence exists regarding Israel's plots against Pakistan's atomic installations to provide justification for Pakistan's conviction that policy makers in Israel have been giving serious consideration to plans for destroying these installations. The president of Pakistan has said that Pakistan has taken every possible precaution to protect its atomic research center and that we are certain that the reprehensible acts of a malevolent enemy will not succeed in harming us. But the people

of Pakistan cannot help but express their surprise and sorrow that a country deeply interested in their national security and strength is reportedly helping Israel to acquire the capability of harming Pakistan's atomic facilities. The close political and military relations between the United States and Israel are no secret, and the people of Pakistan are well aware of the incongruity between Pakistani-U.S. relations and America's relations with Israel. But at a time when American leaders are visiting Pakistan with the stated aim of aiding and strengthening Pakistan's economy and defense, the emergence of reports to the effect that with U.S. help Israel is preparing to strike at our atomic centers is bound to create doubts and suspicions in the minds of the people of Pakistan. We do not know what the U.S. reaction will be to Israel's request for these special planes, but past experience shows that no U.S. government has succeeded in resisting Israel's pressure and demands: that is why it will come as no surprise if Israel gets the planes it wants.

We are not suggesting that Israel's intentions against Pakistan's atomic installations have direct U.S. blessings: that is not our position. But reports emanating from various international sources conveying the impression that the United States directly aids Israel's aggressive aims are bound to create unrest among the people of Pakistan and raise questions about America's true aims. If the United States genuinely attaches importance to Pakistan's integrity and strength and the friendship of its people, it should see to it that its decisions and policies do not convey the impression to the Pakistanis that a country that professes friendship for them is also ready to participate indirectly in projects aimed at harming the people of Pakistan. If you are Pakistan's friend and well-wisher, you should desire its well-being in every respect. When you express the desire to see a plant grow strong, you should at least not convey the impression that you are supplying the axe for cutting its limbs.

9863

CSO: 4656/241

CONDITIONS IN PAKISTAN ANALYZED; INDIA'S POSITION DISCUSSED

New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English 15 Sep 83 pp 82-86

[Article by Bhabani Sen Gupta: "On the Boil"]

[Text]

NO DICTATOR in history has ever known when exactly the bells begin to toll for him. In June and July, Pakistan's third military dictator, General Zia-ul-Haq was masquerading at home and abroad as one the timber of whose six-year-old regime was as durable as mortal minds could fathom. Came the ides of August, and a political storm burst over Pakistan taking everyone by surprise.

In less than a week the entire province of Sind was aflame, and there was hardly any major city in all Pakistan where large knots of people did not march protesting military rule and demanding that democracy be restored. Outside Sind, rural Pakistan was quiescent until the last days of August, but no one knew if it would be so in September. Exceptionally largely attended protest meetings in Lahore enabled leaders of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) to decide that September be the month of reckoning for the Zia regime in Punjab. Punjab dominates Pakistan with 59 per cent of the country's population, the cradle of its army and its bureaucracy.

In the second week of the MRD agitation, there were signals of a larger storm brewing. The main Baluch parties had stayed away from the civil disobedience movement, still licking the wounds that Bhutto had inflicted on Baluchistan in the '70s. But on August 18, one of the major Baluch organisations, the Pakistan National Party, banned and defunct like all other parties in Pakistan but all still mysteriously functioning, decided to join the movement and called for a general

strike in Quetta on August 23. The call was heeded by a surprisingly large number of people. Much of the city downed its shutters. In Peshawar, the aged Frontier Gandhi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, had asked his followers to keep their distance from the MRD movement. His son Wali Khan was holidaying in London and had been recently joined by his wife. Begum Wali Khan flew back to Pakistan on August 17, went immediately into a huddle with her father-in-law, from which two events followed: she took over leadership of MRD, and was at once taken into custody by the police, while Ghaffar Khan reversed his previous stand and asked his supporters to join the movement. He was put under house arrest, but the anti-military regime movement quickly spread to the college and university campuses.

Protest Toll: In the first 10 days of the unrest, Zia's police carried away well over 1,500 political leaders and workers. More than 30 Pakistanis were killed in "police" firings, all in Sind; at least 300 were wounded, some of them identified in the Pakistani press as students. Only once before during Zia's rule were mass arrests made in Pakistan—in 1981-82 in the wake of the hijacking of a Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) plane to Afghanistan. In those fearful months, by arresting 20,000 Pakistanis (or 2,000, according to the regime), Zia was able to pre-empt a political challenge from the newly-constituted MRD. In the next 15 months, most Pakistanis resigned themselves to a long spell of military rule. The regime remained alienated from the people. But there was no air of confrontation in Pakistan. There was, instead, a vapid air of cynicism

amongst the Pakistani elite. And a sharp loss of credibility in MRD as a viable vehicle of political change in Pakistan—from arbitrary and corrupt military rule to representative government.

For the cynicism and loss of credibility, leaders of the MRD were themselves to blame. A coalition of nine "defunct" political parties. MRD is a *khichri* of left, right, centrist and moderately Islamic elements. Its leaders belong to the same social class and the same age-group—sporting famous Punjabi or Sindhi surnames that carry a feudal odour. Politics for most of them is, or has long been, business and pleasure by other means. They live in richly furnished houses, ride imported cars, fly out of Pakistan every now and then, disagree on most issues when they huddle "secretly" in Karachi or Lahore. Most of the smaller parties nurse old scars inflicted by Bhutto; they are more afraid of than in love with the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) presided over by the "Bhutto women", Bhutto's wife Nusrat (now under medical treatment in Europe), and his daughter, Benazir, long under house arrest. Above all, the PPP leaders are afraid of the political workers of their own parties, younger men of militant orientation, chafing to go into action against military rule which they passionately hate. While the PPP leaders remain unreconciled to Zia, leaders of other groups occasionally meet him privately, even counsel him on how to run the country. Thus, when MRD decided to launch a civil disobedience movement to coincide with Zia's much-flaunted "new political structure" to be launched on August 14, Pakistan's 36th anniversary, few people expected anything big to happen, least of all Zia himself.

ALL DICTATORS make one fatal mistake from which history takes its own course and there's no turning back. Zia is a nimble politician. Perhaps his fatal mistake was to allow a certain constitutional process to be revived in Pakistan. If he had kept to himself the task of handing down to the people a "new political structure", king-like, he would not have faced the confrontation that suddenly erupted in mid-August. Anxious to carry some kind of a popular sanction with him, Zia appointed three special committees, one of the hand-picked Majlis-e-Shoora, one of the Council of Islamic Ideology which backs him the whole hog, and a third, of the Cabinet. The 30-member special committee of the Shoora

presented its recommendations to the Shoora itself and there was a debate for more than a week in which a large number of members took part and which was reported in the mass media. The result was an animation in Pakistan on what the "new" political structure should be, a public debate the like of which never took place since Zia pushed Bhutto out of power and seized the reins of government in the summer of 1977.

The highlights of the Shoora recommendations that caught the imagination of broad sections of the Pakistani people were:

- ▶ that the 1973 Constitution be restored in its basic essentials, including the fundamental rights and a totally independent judiciary;

- ▶ and that there be a balance between the powers of the President and the prime minister, which ruled out a presidential system of government.

The Shoora also approved certain amendments to the 1973 Constitution to allow for freer play of Islamic values. During the debate in the Shoora, a majority of some 70 participants asked for the "full restoration" of the 1973 Constitution. Extract from a typical

day's report of the debate in an Islamabad newspaper: "A majority of the members taking part in the debate on the report of the special committee on the system of government on the fourth day in the Majlis-e-Shoora strongly pleaded for the restoration of the 1973 Constitution and the parliamentary system as well as holding of general elections in the country." In fact, in a matter of mere two weeks, a national consensus emerged in Pakistan around two demands: restoration of the 1973 Constitution with minor modifications to suit Zia's Islamic preferences, and a cabinet system of government through parliamentary elections contested freely by the political parties. This was more than Zia had bargained for.

High Expectations: Pakistanis were agog with expectations and fears as they waited impatiently for Zia-ul-Haq's "new political structure". Wrote the *Muslim* of Islamabad, "Never in recent memory have

people looked towards August 14 with such anticipation and apprehension as this year." Echoed *Dawn* of Karachi, "From the foreign diplomat to the civil servant, down to the average citizen, almost everybody appears to be looking forward to the August 14 pronouncement." Apprehending a groundswell of popular feelings, Zia made known through his Information Minister, Raja Zafarul Haq, that the Delphic voice would be heard two days in advance, on August 12. The newspapers went on feeding the great white hope of the masses. *Dawn* reported that the President was about to offer "something concrete" if only to defuse a possible popular protest under the auspices of MRD. *Dawn* also warned the regime that "anything half-hearted or lukewarm, any scheme short of total restoration of democracy" might turn out to be "counter-productive". The *Muslim* tuned in, "A hopeful factor, insofar as political parties of different leanings and persuasions are concerned, is that there is a clear consensus on 1973 Constitution as providing an agreed framework for the country's governance. The Government, too, appears to be basically in agreement with this position."

Whether the newspapers were playing the game by their own rules or were ignorant of Zia's intentions, when the presidential commandments were handed down, a pall of gloom descended on Pakistan and soon it turned into a red film of anger. Taking refuge behind the fig-leaf of "differences" among the three special committees on what kind of political system would suit Pakistan best, Zia gave his countrymen a post-dated cheque on a nearly insolvent bank. His great design envisaged a preidential form of government in which the prime minister would be chosen by the President, enjoy limited powers and rule at the President's pleasure. The President would be indirectly elected by an electoral college which remained undefined, he would be commander-

in-chief of the armed forces as well as head of the Government with power to veto legislation passed by Parliament.

Zia promised step-by-step election to a national Parliament, beginning with partyless election to the local bodies in September, followed by provincial elections in March 1984, and then, in March 1985, parliamentary election. Since there was a lot of time between now and the two later polls, he remained mum on the role of political parties, thereby giving an impression that the parties would be kept outside the political process. Candidates would be screened for their Islamic credentials by bodies that remained undefined. Zia made only two concessions to public opinion: the 1973 Constitution would be restored in a symbolic form, and there would be no integral role in the political process for the armed forces.

Subtle Machinations: At a press conference on August 15, Zia was asked if he would run for President. With characteristic modesty, Zia replied that he had no "political design", but hastened to add that his only goal was to take the "process of Islamisation to its logical conclusion from where there will be no turning back". Then, with characteristic ambiguity, he remarked that it was a "lifetime process" though he had not decided to invest "my whole life" in it. He had only announced a 500-day programme in which he would try to "complete the process".

In the elliptical language of Pakistani politics under military rule, what Zia said was immediately interpreted to mean that if election were held under the scheme pronounced by General Zia-ul-Haq, the first President to rule Pakistan "constitutionally" would be Zia-ul-Haq. For how long, nobody knew, for the August 12 announcement did not define a presidential term. *The Guardian* read a sombre meaning in the presidential design: "Zia is not sure of himself." Why else should he, after six years of military rule, set a date in 1985? Why else should he "hug a quaking Constitution to his chest"?

MRD had called for civil disobedience for a week; its leaders did not expect anything

more than small knots of political persons courting arrest in most cities of Pakistan thereby registering a symbolic mass protest against Ziaulhaqisation of Pakistani politics. In the lazy morning of August 14, the military Government went ahead with officially sponsored celebrations of Pakistan's 36th Independence Day. The military-bureaucratic-landlord-industrial complex that rules Pakistan did not even notice the deep anguish written on the faces of the people who gathered in surprisingly large numbers in Karachi and Lahore, chanting anti-military regime slogans and demanding return of democracy. What newspapers merely described as a "big gathering" assembled at the Mazar-e-Quaide-Azam in Karachi and listened for 90 minutes to MRD leaders denounce the military rule and tear apart Zia's "political structure". The leaders and an indefinite number of political workers were whisked away by policemen dressed in civilian clothes. After the meeting the protesters marched towards Islamia College. The police burst teargas shells and made a lathi-charge. Thus began the great confrontation between the regime and the people in Karachi and Sind.

Police Action: The police succeeded in preventing a protest rally from taking place in Rawalpindi. But in Lahore, despite a police cordon thrown from Iqbal Park to Kila Lachman Singh and the presence of a contingent of mounted police, a "large number of political workers" entered the Minar-e-Pakistan. Reported a major Pakistani daily, "The presence of such a large number of political workers at the Minar was beyond the expectation of political circles." Protest demonstrations were held in Peshawar also, where a former speaker of the North West Frontier Province Assembly, Mohammad Hanif Khan, and two former ministers, Abdul Razik Khan and Abdul Mastan Khan, were among the leaders picked up by the police. More significant was the participation in the movement of two leaders of the Jammāt-ul-Islāmī (JIU). Maulana Binouri and Maulana Abdul Bari Jan, because only a day before JIU had announced that it would not join the MRD protest.

The first clash between the people and the police occurred in Karachi on August 16. Undaunted by the presence of a large police force, a big crowd gathered near the Regal bus stop in the hot and humid early afternoon. Exactly at 3.15 p.m.

a public bus halted at the stand and from it alighted two MRD leaders, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Meiraj Mohammad Khan. As soon as the crowd spied them, they rushed to greet them shouting slogans against martial law. Policemen, again wearing civilian clothes, grabbed them by the collar and pushed them towards a waiting van. The van was chased by the crowd for a distance, and then the crowd was chased away by the police. Among the protesters were seen four women who were quickly taken away by the police. Shops and hotels in the busy area of the port city closed down. The "people and the police stood face to face." The police began to pick up people at random. The crowd became angry. They set a government bus on fire on M.A.

Jinnah Road.

On the third day, the agitation spread all over Sind, and the first police firing occurred at Dadu, a town north of Karachi, where frenzied masses stormed a jail and released 100 prisoners, ripped away several metres of rail track, burnt buses and damaged a passenger car at the railway station. In the police firing one man was killed, while a DSP and three policemen were injured by missiles hurled by protesters. Protest meetings were held in Lahore, Rawalpindi, Quetta and Peshawar. At Dera Ismail Khan, in the Frontier Province, among those arrested were a former president of the Peshawar University, Azam Afidi, and a former principal of the degree college at Mardan, Said Kamal. MRD circles in London claimed that the police had arrested 5,000 Pakistanis and that Pakistan was "in complete turmoil".

A BBC newscast in the evening of August 18 said, "On the fourth day of the civil disobedience campaign, thousands of supporters of MRD again defied martial law to hold protest meetings and marches. MRD supporters were reported out in force in many of the towns and cities along the Indus Valley and the disturbances appear to be intensifying in certain areas." The BBC correspondent in Pakistan said the agitation had had a profound impact on Sind. Troops were moved into Dadu. There was a "confrontation" between the Sind police and "paramilitary forces" in which one policeman was killed. In the next three days some

15 towns in Sind were placed under army control. The Voice of America (VOA) reported on August 20 that troops "are remaining in alert all over Pakistan. The movement had left at least 10 dead and more than 1,000 people arrested." Judges were handing in "strict sentences", including hard labour, heavy fines and lashes.

The MRD limit of July 22 passed, by which date most of the MRD leaders were in jail. But the agitation appeared to be spreading rather than tapering off. A remarkable feature of the campaign was the huge masses that turned out for protest meetings and demonstrations. What Pakistani newspapers described as "large numbers" was quantified in BBC and VOA broadcasts as 20,000, 40,000 and in Western wire services as even 50,000! The police fired several times at different unruly crowds in Sind.

What do the disturbances portend for Pakistan? Soon after the disturbances started, *The Guardian* of London asked the question that was gnawing at the

mind of foreign offices the world over: "How long has Zia got?" Pakistan's own chequered political history offers no clue except that when a military dictator totters, his fall cannot be far away. When a scuffle between students and policemen broke out in Rawalpindi Polytechnique in 1968, few saw it as a great mishap; yet by March the same year, Ayub was out. A helplessly cornered Yahya Khan ordered the first one-man-one-vote election in Pakistan in December 1970 as a possible way out for himself and his regime; one year later he was a non-person and Pakistan lay dismembered.

Diplomatic circles in New Delhi saw three possible scenarios developing in Pakistan in the coming weeks and months. If the movement snowballs to Punjab, Zia will have no alternative to talking with MRD leaders and setting a timetable for orderly election and transfer of power. Scenario two would be the ouster of Zia by another general if the agitation goes on gathering momentum and if it threatens to break up the unity of the military-bureaucratic

biradari (community). The third possibility is that Zia, with united support from the generals and the top brass of the bureaucracy, suppresses the movement with severe use of ruthless coercive force.

The crucial factor in all these scenarios is the momentum of the anti-Martial Law agitation. If the movement spreads to Punjab, the Frontier and Baluchistan, and draws in larger sections of students, industrial workers and the peasantry, Zia will probably have to step down, either in favour of another general or after an early election. If another general replaces Zia, he would like to continue Pakistan's foreign policy, but will have to work out with the political leaders an agreed transition to civilian rule. The army in Pakistan is not like the army in Turkey, a country that Zia-ul-Haq apparently holds in high esteem. The Pakistani armed forces are too stretched and too much a part of the people. In a sustained political struggle between the people and military rule, the sympathies of the *jawan* will be with the people.

Possible Repercussions: Whether MRD will be able to offer a viable, stable representative government to Pakistan is a question that must disturb a lot of people within and outside the country. Its lack of a charismatic leader may turn out to be its greatest advantage. If the PPP has learnt the correct lessons from the excesses and follies of Bhutto, it will respect the other opposition parties, try genuinely and honestly to work with them, and

keep the army strictly confined to its legitimate role: defending the frontiers of Pakistan. Only one issue would PPP leaders insist on having their way: the fate of a fallen Zia-ul-Haq.

What would be the regional and world repercussions of a regime change in Pakistan? The West, especially the US, placed high stakes in the stability of the Zia regime. If it crumbles, the disaster for America in the Persian Gulf-South Asian region will be completely comparable to the fall of the late Shah of Iran. The US will have to overhaul its strategies for the

Middle East, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and South Asia. The great American "loss" will be a significant Soviet gain.

Even if Zia does not fall in the near future, any perceived weakness of his regime, wobbling of his political grip of Pakistan will affect at least two major diplomatic processes ongoing for some time. The USSR will not be over-anxious to negotiate and conclude a political settlement of the Afghan issue with a Pakistani regime that may not last next year. It would rather wait for the political parties to get back to power because most of the MDD constituents are committed to pursue friendly relations with Afghanistan and the USSR.

There is a hubris in most human affairs, but none as menacing as it is for a dictator. He is the monarch of all he surveys as long as the going is good. Something snaps somewhere and an entire edifice, built with so much glitter on crushed hopes and aspirations of millions, comes down like a house of cards.

The remarkable thing of the hubris of dictators is that they never learn from the hubris of one another. Zia-ul-Haq only learnt two wrong lessons from his two predecessors: not to hold election to a sovereign parliament and not to allow the political parties to come back to Pakistan's political life. Even if he survives, neither he nor his regime will be the same again. The days of both now seem to be numbered. Whether the date is 1984 or 1985 the coming months will tell.

ALLEGED INDIAN INTERVENTION IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS SEVERELY CRITICIZED

Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 1 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Hafeez R. Khan: "India's Ugly Interventionist Face"]

[Text] Though August is an ominous month because it brings back the dreadful memories of man's first encounter with the atomic bombs that wiped out the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and killed at least 170,000 of their citizens a "minor miracle," as the Indians liked to put it, occurred in the shape of SARC Conclave. Mrs. Indira Gandhi in her inaugural address, described South Asia as a "troubled region." The President of one of the seven Foreign Ministers, Mr. Junius Richard Jayewardene, had expressed fears that Sri Lanka might be invaded by India in support of the Tamils. And the fear was not expressed on the spur of the moment, either. Months earlier in an interview with an Indian newspaper he was reported to have said: "supposing she (India) invades, our principles are not in any way tarnished by India's invasion. Take Sri Lanka and rule it. (You) can't rule 15 million people if they are opposed to it. If I am alive I will carry on the movement against that "invasion."

MPs Warning

Members of the Indian Parliament (Lok Sabha) warned against glibby talking about sending troops to Sri Lanka, as this would give an opportunity to "imperialist" to intervene. The member initiating the debate said the first element in the policy to meet the situation in Sri Lanka should be not to allow anyone to intervene in the region and the best way of ensuring this was "not to intervene ourselves."

Sri Lanka newspapers were talking of "another Bangladesh." In response to the reports that Sri Lanka had allegedly asked for military assistance from the United States, Britain, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the Indian External Affairs Ministry, the world was told, "politely warned foreign missions in New Delhi that any armed interference in Sri Lanka would be considered as a move hostile towards India."

In the event, India offered its "mediation." But the Tamils do not see any solution emerging within a united Sri Lanka. The position of Tamils, according to some of their leaders, is like the restoration of their homeland.

According to the chairman of the Tamil Eelam Aid Committee, who belongs to Congress (I). "Whether this Tamil Eelam should be an independent entity or whether a solution has to be sought within the framework of a Federation in Sri Lanka or within the framework of Indian Union can be decided only by the free exercise of the will of the Tamil people there."

The Sri Lankan Tamil leaders were reported to have expressed their gratitude to Mrs Indira Gandhi, saying that Tamil were indebted to her for "internationalising the issue." While the WASHINGTON POST suggested that a separate Tamil State in Sri Lanka would be the only alternative if Tamils are not treated fairly, India's "Iron Lady" was congratulated by THE GUARDIAN for not invading Sri Lanka, the way Turkey invaded Cyprus.

After cashing in on what was essentially international humanitarian support for the Tamils in Sri Lanka, Mrs. Gandhi zeroed in on Pakistan. Not that it is for the first time that she has tried to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. But the manner she and some other Indian leaders are expressing themselves, betrays something far more sinister than meets the eye. It is as if the world has, finally, conceded India the right to meddle in the affairs of its neighbours in the region. That perception could have devastating effect not only on the region but also on the international system. The illusion could also spread from the leaders to the Indian people themselves, the manner it did from the German leaders to the German people resulting in turmoil and wars in Europe, massive death and destruction and eventual humiliation of the Germans and division of their country.

Pakistan has shown remarkable restraint in the face of the blatant Indian disregard of the norms of international behaviour. This is based, as India should know, on Pakistan's desire to save the gains made during the last couple of years towards normalization of Pakistan-India relations. If India chooses to draw any other conclusion, all the efforts made by the two countries would be seriously jeopardised; they may go down the drain. As the progress, however slow it has been, has raised the expectations of the people of both India and Pakistan, some would say significantly the perception of the loss, may even have traumatic undertones.

On the other hand, if, for instance, India's ruling establishment conjures up ideas of acceptability on the part of Pakistan of India's dominance in the region, however tacit, the sure [as printed] result would be Pakistan's turning away its gaze from India, once again. True, there is a great collective desire in Pakistan to have good-neighbourly, even friendly and cordial relations with India, as there is believed to be in India, it would be realistic to say that in both the countries there is a substantial residual of opposite sentiments. People of Pakistan, in any case, could not be expected to barter a single iota of their sovereignty with any amount of Indian endearment. One would think this is crystal clear to the Indian people. If for any reason their rules have different ideas, they are sadly mistaken.

'Leave Alone'

In their struggle for the fulfillment of their aspirations the people of Pakistan would appreciate nothing more than to be left alone by her "giant" neighbour. It is a pity that no effort is made yet, to find out the extent of damage done to the growth of democratic institutions in Pakistan by the leadership of the "biggest democracy on earth."

If the Indian leadership would care to look at itself in this mirror, the results, one is sure, could be very salutary indeed, of course it is the temptation to break the mirror showing the ugly image is somehow resisted. In the interest of peace in the region and welfare of the people one prays the exercise is done as soon as possible.

CSO: 4600/924

VETERAN POLITICIAN MIAN MUMTAZ DAULTANA OFFERS ADVICE TO ZIA

Karachi JANG in Urdu 6 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with veteran Pakistani politician Mian Mumtaz Daultana by JANG representative Z.U. Khan, in London; date not specified]

[Excerpt] [Question] What is your opinion regarding the present government and its objectives?

[Answer] Although I am not active in practical politics and have no contacts with the wielders of power, I do have personal relations with General Zia, Lt Gen Ghulam Jilani and a couple of other old friends. I do not know nor do I meet anyone else. I continue to see General Zia, but he attaches no special importance to me nor does he consider my advice of any great importance. But I have seen and felt the great humility in General Zia. He treats one with such respect and dignity that one feels ashamed. He listens to what one has to say. He is an honorable Muslim, pious, observant of prayers and abstemious. I am certain that his desires and hopes for Pakistan are no different from mine. But the system under which he came into office and which he has not succeeded in changing will destroy all his good intentions. The country will not remain strong and stable and President Zia's honesty will not benefit the country. It is necessary, therefore, that President General Zia change the course he is following and restore government by the people as soon as possible.

[Question] How do you define democracy? What kind of democracy is suitable for Pakistan?

[Answer] We believe that democracy, like freedom, is indivisible. It is wrong to talk of controlled democracy, regulated democracy, opportune democracy. I do not understand such democracies. Democracy means only one thing: government according to the wishes, opinions and votes of the people. I believe in unconditional and complete democracy. To say that elections will be held on an on-party basis or that candidates will be investigated is to make a mockery of democracy. Totalitarianism is preferable to this, because under totalitarianism, one at least knows its nature; but under these other systems we will fall victim to charlatans. In my view, the parliamentary form of democracy is the best system of government.

[Question] Are you in favor drawing up a new constitution?

[Answer] No. Several constitutions were drawn up in the country in past years. But if one looks at different constitutions in the world, one finds no special shortcoming in the 1973 constitution. Its best feature is that when it was drawn up, every one united and accepted it. No one repudiates it even today. This constitution created unity in the country. It would be very foolish to end this unanimity and start the argument all over again.

At present, there is a hush in the country. I do not think that a movement or anything similar will succeed at this time because the people have lost the habit of political activism. It would be correct to say that politics has left the country; we have forgotten what politics is. One cannot find politics in our newspapers or in our meetings, and the people are not free.

It is the responsibility of President Zia more than of the politicians to bring about an improvement in the situation because President Zia's own welfare lies in the welfare of the country.

[Question] What is preventing the restoration of democracy?

[Answer] It is true that there are many political leaders in the country; but if you study them carefully, you will see that President Zia is not inferior to any of the politicians. He is as good as any of them, Pir Pagara, Mian Nurani, Bazanjo and Wali Khan included. I would be happy to live in General Zia's democracy; but it should be a democracy. He should discard his uniform, don civilian clothes and come forward. May God grant him success. He should rule in a democratic manner; the only condition is that he should take office by democratic means and follow a democratic course.

The obstacle in his path is that although President General Zia would gain strength in a democracy, General Zia is imprisoned in a web of bureaucracy, and whether this bureaucracy is military or civilian, it has no place in a democracy, whatever its nature. There will be places for Zia, the people and their leaders, but no place for this bureaucratic autocracy. That is why the bureaucracy will not let Zia proceed in the direction of democracy. They give him erroneous advice all the time and tell him, "You are being deceived; you will be killed; if you take even the slightest action the country will break apart." Such bureaucrats were around even before 1947. They did not offer the least bit of help in the creation of Pakistan. You say that Pakistan has failed from 1947 to 1983. The late Suharwardi may have failed once by losing in the general elections; the late Nishtar may have failed once. But this autocratic bureaucracy has been ruling for many years and has failed every year; it is unbearable to ask that its advice be acted on. May God protect General Zia from it. He is a pious man and if he should meditate, he will receive guidance. May God lead him toward democracy. It is necessary to create the feeling in the smaller provinces that this country is as much theirs as anyone else's. It is important to create a sense of participation and equality among the inhabitants of the smaller provinces. This feeling does not exist today. A Sindi or Baluchi does not feel that he has any stake in the government. If I, as a Punjabi Pakistani, do not see a single Punjabi in the government, how can I be convinced that the government is mine? I am a Pakistani. (To be continued)

MRD CRITICIZED; SEEN AFFECTED BY BHUTTO FAMILY VENDETTA

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 2 Sep 83 p 6

[Article by Z. A. Suleri: "By Any and All Means"]

[Text]

You would think that those who were keen for an orderly transfer of power to civilian hands, would welcome any move to break the present deadlock and give their earnest consideration to any proposals that President Zia-ul-Haq might have to make. For after all, there was no alternative to dealing with the Martial Law government on whom the MRD made insistent demands to hold elections. That no such gesture was made and instead the country was headlong plunged into the anarchy of a violent civil disobedience movement was due. It can now be revealed, to Mrs. Bhutto's peremptory mandate.

Mrs. Bhutto was not interested in observing the constitutional propriety or nicety of calm deliberations and negotiations. She was out to raise a storm. Her instructions were simple — destabilise the regime. "My view is" she said "that we should not stand in the way of any method or step that could destabilise the regime." Following the compulsions of the mandate, the defunct PPP had no choice but to drag its partners into the fray irrespective of their volition or consequences for the nation.

Khairuddin's letter

Mrs. Bhutto's mandate came in response to a plea by Khawaja Khairuddin who out-heroded Herod in declaring allegiance and loyalty to "My most respected Begum Sahiba" and Miss Benazir Bhutto as the "undisputed leaders of Pakistan." Khawaja Khairuddin's letter contained a report on the situation in the country. According to him, the original plan to launch a "people's movement" was hatched nearly a year ago. It was to be executed on 1st December, 1982, before the "departure of Zia-ul-Haq on his tour to USA." However, it fizzled out due to lack of enthusiasm in the Punjab. "When I was in the Punjab along with Mairaj Mohammad Khan and Fatehbab Ali Khan, I was utterly shocked and disappointed by the reaction of the leadership of various parties there, particularly Mr. Farooq Leghari and Rao Rashid who openly stated that they had not done any homework for the movement and were not prepared to launch the same. PPP workers also expressed complete ignorance about the decision for launching the movement. This was a big setback and blow to us". Khawaja Sahib complains that the whole MRD

movement failed due to "lack of interest, lack of sense of responsibility and lack of commitment to the cause". But, above all, he complains of "lack of funds" from "friends" who did not seem to have come forth with promised and adequate contributions.

31 points

Khawaja Khairuddin, however, reported that things have since improved considerably. Everybody was ready for action. The main cause for the improvement was the production of 31 points. "It was strongly felt" he said "that unless political parties offer some concrete proposals for the welfare of the people, it would not be possible to elicit support of the masses MERELY ON THE SLOGAN OF DEMOCRACY." He was critical of the Tehrik-Istisqal's tardy role which was based on the ground that the 'MRD is not an election alliance'. Since, however, no other constituent party demurred, the plank was adopted. He solicited Begum Sahiba's support for the programme: "Since your Party is undoubtedly the biggest Party of the country, oppressed people of Pakistan have rightly pinned very high hopes on you and Miss Benazir, the undisputed leaders of Pakistan, hence responsibilities also lie more heavily on PPP". In order to coax her further, he paid a glowing tribute to Bhutto's sacrifices for democracy. "The entire nation acknowledges the supreme sacrifice of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in upholding the cause of democracy." (Remember Khawaja Khairuddin's tale of woes about his deportation by Bhutto).

Khawaja Khairuddin also urged Mrs. Bhutto to order the PPP to boycott local bodies elections. "To sidetrack the main issue and lure the political workers into a trap the government is holding local bodies elections to make the local sections of the people impotent, as the workers will be devoting their entire energies to clash with each other to succeed in elections. I would therefore request you to call upon the PPP leaders and workers to boycott the local bodies elections and devote all their energies to uproot the present regime." Having made

out a case for launching the movement Khawaja Sahib made yet another demand on Mrs. Bhutto—to issue a warning, especially to the people in the Punjab of whom he had fallen foul for lack of co-operation "that anybody who will waver, show weakness or will not wholeheartedly support the movement will not be considered as our friend" obviously meaning thereby that dire punishment will be in store for them which would be meted out through the instrumentality of Al-Zulfikar or some other characteristically notorious Bhutto apparatus.

Such is the anatomy of the MRD movement. It has nothing to do with the revival of a constitutional, normal, democratic life. Otherwise the President's proposals would have been considered. If the proposed amendments were unacceptable, it was open to reject them through the newly elected parliament. The amendments could well have provided an election issue. Meanwhile, the parties could have usefully employed the next eighteen months in organising themselves throughout the country. No doubt there is lack of clarity on some aspects of the election programme, whether they would be held on party or non-party basis and when the parties would be allowed to function legally. Clarifications could have been sought on that score. However, that exercise would have been gone through only if the attitude was constructive and positive. But since the whole purpose and motive was to "destabilise the regime" by any and all means, without caring what dangers it might entail for the already embattled country that was not a course which suited the MRD book.

Khawaja Khairuddin's main concern was for "funds from friends". That hole seems to have been plugged. Mrs. Bhutto must have pulled strings for, India came out strong in support of the movement and made a most "friendly" gesture to the MRD. Moreover she ordered the boycott of the local bodies elections and issued a special appeal to the people of the Punjab to do and die.

B.B's release

While, for her part Mrs. Bhutto seems to have settled down in Europe, for she has got her creature comforts, carpets and supply of clothes ("Now I have enough clothes to last me a lifetime"), she wants Benazir to get out of Pakistan — even "exiled" as she puts it. In that connection, she has sought even the help of the Red Cross who could influence the Pakistan Government for, as she argued with them, "they (Pakistan Government) need you for all the help you are giving for the Afghan refugees hence, they would listen to your organisation. If you forcefully put it to them for B.B's release." And she felt reassured with what they promised. Mrs. Bhutto is well ensconced in some hide out in Germany or France — "I don't want anyone to know which city or country I am living in" — but the remote control of a political party is a delicate and difficult matter and she feels lonely and inadequate. She sorely needs Benazir's "intelligence" for the guidance of the organisation. The mother therefore pines for the daughter's company for more than sentimental reasons. Meanwhile whatever mischief is set afoot in the country is the least of her concern. The Bhutto family is consumed with vendetta.

DOCTOR ISRAR AHMAD EXPRESSES VIEWS ON SIND AGITATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 8 Sep 83 p 8

[Article by Nusrat Javeed]

[Text] Rawalpindi, 7 Sep--The prominent but "controversal" religious scholar, Dr Asrar Ahmad has said the present situation, particularly what is happening in Sind is not only regrettable but dangerous for the very existence of the country.

Speaking on the issue of "the Security of Pakistan" at a local school last night, Dr Asrar Ahmad in his 90-minute speech, elaborated in depth upon his interpretation of the situation and claimed that the main cause, of political crisis at regular intervals in the country, is that we have failed to implement Islam. He, however, said the immediate cause of the present 'crisis,' which according to him was more dangerous than the crisis of 70, was the "strong sense of deprivation now prevailing amongst the Sindhis."

He claimed that by perpetuating the martial law the present regime had created a political vacuum which has created a feeling amongst the Sindhis that they were being ruled by aliens and they have no say in the affairs in the country.

He suggested that 'the only way out left is to hold immediate elections to elect an assembly. He, however, added that these elections should be held on non-party basis. But he made it clear that every Pakistani should be eligible for taking part in these elections as per rules which were in effect at the time of 77 elections in the country. This assembly, he said, in three months should settle the Constitutional issues.

He was asked that in the presence of 73 Constitution what is the use of the deliberations of an assembly which he suggests? He said no doubt the 73 Constitution was formulated by the representatives of the people and issues were settled in an appreciable way. "But," he added, "pandora box of the constitutional issues was opened by the President himself." He alleged that President's speech of August 12 is 'a political manoeuvre to buy time.'

"We must think," he asserted that why that province which took lead in voting for Pakistan and which had the pride of being the birth province of the Father of Nation, is voicing dissatisfaction.

He claimed that he was the first to write to the President that situation in Sind demanded immediate political solutions way back in December 1982.

He said the regime is trying to play it cool while calling it a 'law and order problem.' He agreed that in this perspective, government had all the might to crush the movement. "But," he added, "I must warn that even if it was crushed at the moment it would emerge with more dangerous proportions and dimensions again as Pir Pagara had warned.

One must consider, he said, that no political party or person supposed to be close or in favour of the government or whose loyalty for Pakistan is unquestionable is condemning the movement going on in Sind. "No one, even the great patriots and lovers of Islam would be able to control the situation if the political rights of the province are continuously denied," he warned.

He suggested holding of immediate elections on non-party basis for an assembly which must settle the issues and after settling should dissolve itself and then new elections for the 'transfer of power' should be held under the laws drafted by this assembly.

He expressed his confidence that in such an assembly the people loving Islam and the country would definitely gain majority. "It could be just like a renaissance of the movement of Pakistan," he claimed.

He made it clear that he himself is for the unitary form of government and believes that the presidential form of government is nearer to the tenets of Islam. "But," he asserted, "no one had the right to impose his choice upon the people. He must get the mandate of the people."

"Even the President," he added, "had no such right. Supreme Court's decision in Nusrat Bhutto case does not give him a free licence to amend the constitution as it pleases him."

He also said that only Islam could keep the country intact as nationalism on cultural, linguistic, geographical or historical basis could not be developed in Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/925

GOVERNMENT REFUSAL OF IMF'S EXTENDED CREDIT FACILITY ANALYZED

Karachi DAWN ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS REVIEW in English 4 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by M. B. Naqvi: "Why Did the Government Say No to IMF Installment"]

[Text]

PAKISTAN economy continues to be embarrassed by problems and concomitants of bulging reserves of foreign exchange and to the bewilderment of the habitually harassed consumer.

Not that accumulating \$1.266 billion (as on August 18, 1983) is a staggering phenomenon in global terms; it is peanuts, as reserves, for even a small developed country. But for us foreign exchange has always been a bottleneck and its reserves have often dropped to ridiculous and for us calamitous levels. The current upsurge is unusual; reserves now suffice to finance three-months' imports — the desired level.

One result is interesting. It has created exultation among some. They are happy that Authority could stand up and say to the IMF: No thank you; we do not need

'Cynics and critics, persist in seeking the government feel obliged to say no to the IMF.'

further instalments (that is, the third and last) of your Extended Credit Facility; what has been declined is SDRs 537 million.

Circles in the State Bank stoutly maintain that the country did not really need this extra IMF money. 'What is the point in going on borrowing — on variable rates of in-

terest, depending upon two things: the IMF's own money carries a little lower rate of interest, though still going up or down in tandem with the market's, while funds arranged or borrowed from outside carry market rates plus something — and thus go on increasing the repayments' burden, they ask?

Past behaviour

It is a fair argument. But it does not quite harmonise with Pakistan or my managers' past behaviour; self-reliance has never really been their preoccupation and was always used as rhetoric. They have been borrowing right, left and centre. Indeed they have claimed credit for their managerial skills on the basis of borrowing records.

That the IMF and others have been giving them ever-increasing amounts of loans and credits have been treated as so many testimonials of how well they have managed the economy to enhance its credit-worthiness.

Cynics and critics, often the same people, persist in seeking the real reason why did the government feel obliged to say no to the IMF? Assumption is obvious: they would not decline a credit just because there was, temporarily, a reserve balance that looked respectable; Pakistani officials and the IMF bosses both know that this high level of reserve is an all too short-term affair, if not an optical illusion. So why did they refuse to accept (only) the third instalment?

The issue whether the high reserve level is a passing show or represents the new shape of things to expect cannot be resolved soon; only time will show. On past form and considering the structure of foreign trade, the critics appear to be, *prima facie*, on stronger ground. But if the implied second part of the preceding question is focused on, viz. the reasons for refusing to accept this money, the position becomes a little clearer in the light of what we already know and some of the less reproted parts of the story.

Hard terms

The fact is that the IMF's terms — as Brazil, Mexico and others have been discovering and loudly protesting against — are very hard. They impose an economic regime that makes the life of common citizen miserable. That is the stated purpose of the extended facility. It is to enable the economy to readjust structurally to a new order.

And what new order does the IMF prescribe? more and timely devaluations (to be in better accord with market realities), free imports, de-regulation and more intense export drive and a severe fiscal policies of giving no subsidies to the lower income group people, charging economic prices for state-provided goods and services and fighting inflation through restricting money creation and balanced budgets.

As umpteen countries in Latin American and elsewhere have

found, this prescription is worse than the disease. Indeed, it can kill the patient. It ignores the theoretical conundrum. It says deficit countries should discourage imports (while maintaining free imports policy) through high prices via devaluation and encourage exports through lower prices, again through a lower par value of the currency. Supposing all countries did that. How will the world economic order run? But that macro question is neither here nor there; we are not concerned with it, except to point out that Pakistani officials, like their counterparts in Latin American countries, have realised that going further along the IMF-recommended road will make the people rebel; there is a clear limit to the degree of misery that can be tolerated. That, it is stressed by many critics, is the true reason why we have told the IMF what we are supposed to have done.

Economy's health

But the far more interesting questions are those that ask how are these reserves being built up and what do they reveal about the economy's health. While trade balance is still in deep red and there is no realistic likelihood that it is anywhere near being bridged, there are two heartening trends visible: First, exports are moving up despite world recession and its consequences (excepting the bogus exports that was all too possible until the other day). Secondly, there has been a downward pull on the imports.

The reasons for the latter are many: export prices abroad, thanks to the recession in industrial countries, have come down by five to six per cent. Then, thanks to the \$3.2 billion military-cum-economic US aid, the need for importing military hardware is less (though the current foreign exchange cost of running that hardware will rise in none-to-distant future). Another reduction in the import bill is a relative decline in heavy capital goods. Despite sanction of Rs 44 billion to private sector utilisation was only 50 per cent during the Fifth Plan. This means actually fewer imports of heavy machinery. How long can we sustain this state of affairs, especially after the recession's effects begin to disappear and our usual military needs make

us import more?

Let us not forget that IMF's ECF is asked for and is given when economies are in deep trouble when their balance of payments is structurally maladjusted or where palliatives like ordinary drawings from IMF's various tranches do not cover the deficits. Pakistan had to go to the IMF in those conditions and was adjudged worthy of help by the IMF under the ECF programme. That was in 1980

'It will be instructive to remember that relationship with the IMF cannot be left hanging in the air.'

November. Since then two instalments, each after detailed scrutiny by numerous IMF experts and certification by them of adequate compliance by Pakistan of the policy package laid down, or let us say agreed between Pakistan and the IMF, have been drawn.

A headache

Pakistanis, of course, claim they have sincerely tried to implement the laid down or agreed policies: witness the price increases in all government-controlled goods and services and elimination or reduction in subsidies on atta, sugar, cement, gas, electricity, railway fares, postal charges and so forth. But one IMF expert privately expressed the view that Pakistan's compliance of monetary and credit expansion and financing of fiscal deficits have smacked of creative accounting. But that was, and is, not the issue.

However the hard point was that the third year's programme of IMF reforms was proving to be a headache. The remaining subsidies had to go; all charges on the government-provided services had to be equal to their full economic price; and the government's fiscal operations and to conform to the limits laid down. This last was much too much; indeed, on present assumptions, was clearly impossible.

Anyhow the story is not entirely closed. More negotiations impend. It will be instructive to remember that relationship with the IMF can-

not be left hanging in the air; acceptance of a programme of structural reforms given by the IMF cannot be left two-thirds-of-the-way without damaging the relationship with it. What about the future? Will Pakistan never again go the IMF in circumstances where its goodwill will be crucial? Let us see the current state of relationship between Pakistan and the IMF.

As of June 30 last, Pakistan owed a total of SDRs 1317.2 million. Its

breakup is: Pakistan owes SDRs 180.2 million under Compensatory Financing scheme; it has taken SDRs 62.9 million from ordinary resources; it drew SDRs 537.1 million from IMF's own resources and SDRs 537.1 million from non-IMF resources (or otherwise arranged funds) under the Extended Credit Facility; It has SDRs 170 million in cumulative allocations; owes SDRs 26.8 million out of its own holdings retains 15.7 per cent of allocations in hand; and has SDRs 227.1 million in outstanding Trust Fund loans. It is a rich, varied and complicated relationship not easy to untangle; or permitting a small unimportant member to play ducks and drakes with a powerful organisation like the IMF.

Agreed programmes?

The question recurs: is it a refusal or postponement request for not going ahead with the programme in the present surcharged conditions, perhaps importuning the Fund to relax some of the demands? There is no knowing. Let us also not forget that the fate of the Sixth Five-Year Plan hangs in the balance: in November-December next its financing will have to be discussed with the Consortium over which the IMF exercises considerable influence. Will the IMF-IBRD Group be understanding and flexible in our case or will it remain beastly the way it has been with many others — until they recanted and agreed to go ahead with agreed programmes?

RECRUITMENT FROM BALUCHISTAN FOR FEDERAL SERVICES STRESSED

Karachi DAWN in English 3 Sep 83 p 4

[Text]

QUETTA, Sept 2: Federal Government under the directives of the President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, has adopted a number of measures to facilitate recruitment of people from under-developed provinces of Baluchistan in the federal superior and other services. With this objective in view Federal Government conducted special competitive examination for recruitment of candidates from Baluchistan and rural areas of Sind last year.

This was stated by Mr. S.M. Niazi, senior member of the Federal Public Service Commission while talking to APP here today before his departure for Islamabad.

The Government, he said, had raised the upper age limit by five years as a special concession unlike other areas.

Candidates with Third Division were also allowed to appear in the examination. This was also intended to fill up the vacancies which could not be filled up during the last 35 years. As a result of these measures as many as 35 candidates have been accepted as candidates in the developed

superior services of Foreign Services, Police, Income Tax, Excise and Taxation etc.

Mr Niazi further told that in addition to these 35 candidates another four have been accepted for recruitment in superior services during the normal annual examination finalised in June 1983. As a result of these special measures 39 candidates of Baluchistan have been notified to report to the Civil Service Academy at Lahore for administrative training. This will provide them participation in the superior services, Mr Niazi said that it was un-parallel in the history of Pakistan where in record number of 39 candidates have been accepted for the superior services in a year.

Mr. Niazi also told apart from the superior services more than 29 candidates have been recruited from Baluchistan in grades 16, 17 and 18 in services like economist, investigators, research officer, deputy directors, in the 'O' and 'M' division, senior instructor in the population welfare and geological survey of Pakistan.—APP.

CSO: 4600/925

COUNTRY'S FIRST HEAVY MACHINE EXPORT WELCOMED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 30 Aug 83 p 2

[Editorial: "A Great Achievements"]

[Text]

BUSINESS RECORDER welcomes Pakistan's entry into the export of heavy machinery with the sale of a sugar plant to Indonesia. It is, indeed, an achievement of great significance. The Heavy Mechanical Complex of Taxila is to be complimented for enabling Pakistan to become a supplier of complete sugar plants to foreign countries. Set up with the Chinese assistance, the HMC had initially no predetermined range of production. Its main emphasis was on road rollers only. Even in this field, it was unable to fabricate various types of road rollers required in the country. As a result, prospective customers had to resort to imports. Later, a young team of engineers working with missionary zeal, acquired modern technology and started making road rollers of various

types. In the meantime, the HMC entered the field of fabricating various parts of sugar plants and ultimately took up the manufacture of entire sugar plant within its premises. Having made and installed as many as nine sugar plants in the country, the HMC attained enough confidence to book orders from abroad. The Indonesian contract was obtained in an international bidding in which countries like Japan and India had also participated. Under the contract the HMC would also undertake the civil works of the factory and has to hand over the mill in operational condition to the Indonesian sponsors by February 1984. The HMC has one more such order from Bangladesh which would be complied within a few months.

The initiative taken by the HMC would definitely get a fillip with the Pakistan Steel going into full operation. The raw material which the complex has to import from abroad, would then be available locally. It is hoped that the Government would also provide necessary protection to the HMC by restricting imports and thereby ensuring a reasonable market for its products, a pre-condition for the development and expansion of heavy machinery making industry.

BRIEFS

FILMS BANNED--The Federal Government has, through a Gazette notification, banned 458 foreign films. These are not new films, but those which had already been certified for exhibition between 1967 and 1970, and which have been popular with viewers for the past several years. The list includes films which have been specifically for children such as "It's a Mad Mad Mad World," "The Great Race," "Absent-minded Professor" and Walt Disney's "That Darn Cat." Others are films which have been exceptionally good, some even Academy Award winners, such as "Taming of the Shrew," "Love Is a Many Splendoured Thing," "The Train," "Vera Cruz," "Never a Dull Moment," "The Fall of Roman Empire," "Where Eagles Dare," "Topkapi" and "Mayerling." The government had earlier banned 533 films, including 55 Pakistani films under the same Martial Law Order No 81, in February 1981. [A.R. Slote] [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 2 Sep 83 Magazine P VIII]

SIND MOVE DENIED--Dr. Mrs Ashraf Abbasi, former Deputy Speaker of the dissolved National Assembly said in Karachi on Saturday that there was "absolutely no sign of any separatist move" in Sind whose people "are as patriotic as any other citizen of Pakistan could be." Arriving from her hometown, Larkana, she told newsmen at the Karachi Press Club that the MRD's pro-democracy movement in Sind as elsewhere had been "strictly peaceful" and to hurl allegations of "violence and subversion" against the MRD demonstrators was "a slur on the fair name of the law-abiding people of Sind." Saying that there was a "total crisis of confidence," Mrs. Abbasi added, the people wanted "a change--now, not 18 months hence." She refuted the allegation that the Mirs, Pirs and Waderas in Sind had forced their followers to join the struggle. On the other hand, she pointed out, that it is they (the Mirs, Pirs, etc.) who have thought it better to "join the mainstream of the people's democratic movement." [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 4 Sep 83 p 8]

PUNJAB ARRESTS--Lahore, 2 Sep--As many as 900 arrests have been made so far in the Punjab since August 14. Knowledgeable sources informed DAWN that law enforcing agencies were looking for some more "miscreants," for whom instructions had already been issued to the quarters concerned. Moreover, instructions have also been given to closely watch their activities regarding local bodies polls in the province. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 3 Sep 83 p 4]

PRESS REPORT DENIED--Islamabad, 3 Sep--Mr Justice Mohammad Gul, a member of the Ansari commission on the form and system of government, has emphatically refuted a report published in the press today attributing it to the BBC that Mr Mohammad Gul, on the basis of his dissent from the recommendations of the majority report of the commission on certain points, has resigned from the commission. Mr Mohammad Gul has described the report as not only totally baseless but also mischievous.--APP [Text] [Peshawar KHYBER MAIL in English 4 Sep 83 p 3]

BENAZIR DENIES AUTHORIZING BOOK--Karachi, 13 Dec (Staff Reporter)--The interim chairperson of Pakistan People's Party, Benazir Bhutto, who is currently under detention in her residence, 70 Clifton, Karachi has expressed surprise at the reported publication of the book "Pakistan: The Gathering Storm" attributed to her. It has been learned that Ms Bhutto has sent a letter to the home secretary, government of Sind, in which she has refuted newspaper reports that she had sent her book to the Indian publisher, Vikas Publishing House, for publication. Benazir Bhutto's lawyer Barrister Salim Zulfiqar had a meeting with her regarding this matter at her residence. In this meeting Benazir denied any connection with the book and said that if any book attributed to her is published, she will take legal action against its publisher. When the Home Department authorities were asked about the letter Ms Bhutto had written to them, they replied that as yet the letter had not been received in their office. According to them, letters from persons detained in sub-jails are forwarded through the superintendent of jails. [Text] [Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 14 Sep 83 pp 1, 8]

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